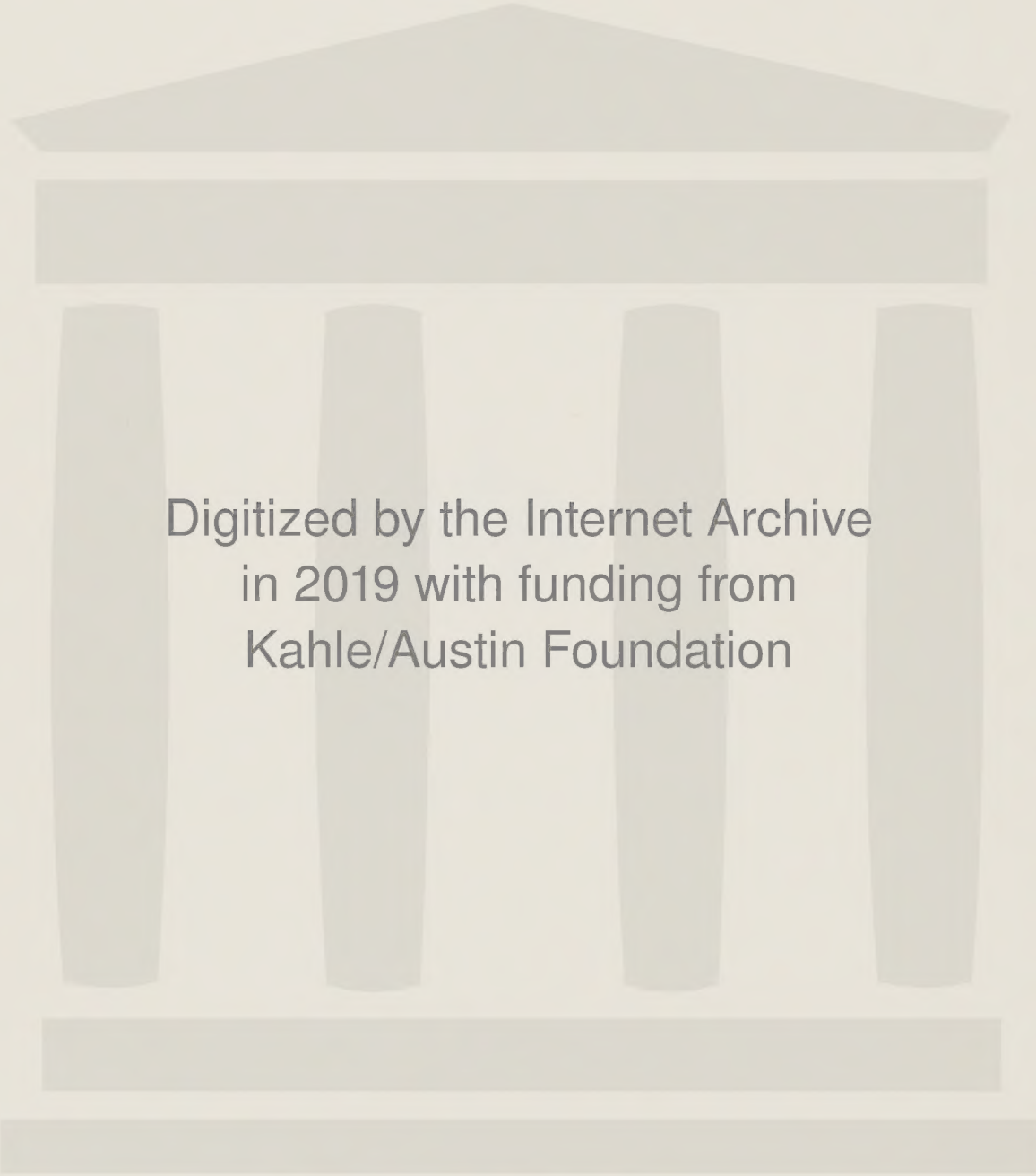


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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLII

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OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XLII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

P. J. PARSONS

STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

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PREFACE

THIS part, in which the serial numbers enter the three thousands, consists largely of documentary texts chosen for the interest of their individual content. Some illuminate the history and administration of Roman Egypt. Others, in dated literary hands, have a palaeographic value (3030, 3034, 3051, 3076). Others again go beyond the Egyptian context, and contribute to the study of Roman law (3016), of the Roman Empire (3019–3023), and of the Early Church (3035, 3055, 3057).

Mr P. J. Parsons, who is responsible for this part, wishes to record his warmest gratitude for the many corrections and improvements (often not specifically acknowledged) which he owes to the other general editors and to Prof. H. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. M. L. West, and Prof. H. C. Youtie.

The compositors and readers of the Oxford University Press have exercised their customary skill and patience in the production of the volume. The index is the work of Dr. M. W. Haslam.

P. J. PARSONS

J. R. REA

E. G. TURNER

*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

June 1973

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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3000	II	3016	VIII
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3004	I	3020	X
3005	II	3030	IX
3006	IV	3034	XI
3007	V	3035	X
3008	VI	3048	XII
3009	VI	3051	XI
3010	I	3055	VII
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to the separate series of Ashmolean boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' AND THE USE OF ARROWS ($\rightarrow$, $\downarrow$)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow ($\rightarrow$) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow ($\downarrow$) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of a papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back $\rightarrow$ '.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position $\rightarrow$ will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs $\rightarrow \downarrow$ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI
PUBLISHED BY THE
EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

P. Ant. II 88. 3. For τοῦ Κοπτείου κα[ὶ τῇ]ς μητρὸς read τοῦ Κουσείου κα[τά τω. τῇ]ς μητρὸς κτλ. (See J. Bingen, *Essays in Honor of G. Bradford Welles* 231-4.)

P. Ant. II 99. 14. For], πρότερον read]νηροτερον, e.g. πο]νηρότερον. (E. G. Turner.)

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2999. HESIOD, *Ῥοῖαι* OR *Μεγάλαι Ῥοῖαι*

A. 16 6E

2.2 × 11.6 cm.

Plate I

Second/third century

A narrow strip, with the first few letters of twelve consecutive lines. The hand is a small and neatly executed example of the Severe Style. On the back, traces of cursive.

Line 12, if the articulation *ῆ' οἷη(ς)* is accepted, points clearly to the Hesiodic *Ῥοῖαι* or *Μεγάλαι Ῥοῖαι*; and the general content confirms this attribution.

3-11 belong together; the beginning of the section is marked by a forked paragraphus. The matter parallels fr. 251 MW: sons of Butes (8) marry daughters of Hyllus (10) in the house of Ceyx (3? 5?).

12 should begin a new section. But it is followed (not preceded) by a forked paragraphus, and by a blank space of c. 5.5 cm. before the foot (which may or may not be the original lower edge). The space would be large for a normal margin. The most obvious explanation is, that we have the end of a roll and that 12 is a *reclamans*. Against this it must be said that *reclamantes* are normally marked off; and in any case there is no certain instance later than the first century A.D. (See S. West, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 314 f.) But there is a parallel in the Xenophon, 698: this too is later (third century) and here too the coronis follows the linking words. The scribes of both the Hesiod and the Xenophon may have misunderstood an antique exemplar.

Otherwise we should have to assume that the paragraphus under line 12 is misplaced; or that the single line constitutes a self-contained episode.

The fragment has some structural interest. The paragraphus below line 2 should begin a new section; but no part of *ῆ' οἷη* can be read in line 3; therefore it begins a new sub-section, as e.g. fr. 25. 34, not a completely new family. But to what genealogy does it belong? Fr. 251, from the *Μεγάλαι Ῥοῖαι*, narrates the same marriage in an account of the family of Hyllus. If the same subject was treated in 2999, it will have been from some other angle: the Butidae, perhaps, or Ceyx.

If our fragment is the end of a roll, and line 12 was a *reclamans*, we could infer that line 11 ended a book. It is tempting to identify 12 with fr. 73. 1, which is restored *exempli gratia* as *ῆ' οἷη Χρουνῆος ἀγακλεῖι τοῦ ἀνακτος*; and in that case the new book began with the episode of Atalanta. Dr. M. L. West, to whom I am much indebted, remarks that fr. 73. 1 is the first line of a column, as one might expect the first line of a book to be; and suggests that the division is between books I (ending with 2999 11) and II (beginning with Atalanta). But of course the identification and explanation of line 12 is by no means certain.

The hand is not, so far as I can tell, the same as in any of the manuscripts published in POxy. xxviii.

→
 .[
 .[
 >—
 κη[
 ιπ.[
 5 .η.[
[
 του[.]θ[
 βουτ[
 τοικο.[
 10 υλλιδ.[
 τωνγ.[
 ηοιηχ[
 >—

- 1 A thick upright with a cross-bar at middle height projecting to the left; more ink above to right
 2 A curved back in two movements, running into the paragraphus, with cross-bar at middle height: ε or θ? 3 Of η, the first upright and beginning of cross-bar 4 .[: foot of upright, e.g. π 5 Before η: a point of ink at line level, followed by a low curve: poss. κ (but more curved than in 3 and 9) .[: a high point of ink, as tip of e.g. τ, υ 6 Horizontal, as of τ; two verticals, perhaps with trace of ink between them (η?); foot of vertical, short gap, another vertical perhaps crossed at foot by descending diagonal (ν?); top left arc of circle at middle height (ο? poss. φ?) 7 Of θ the upper loop and ends of the cross-bar 8 Of τ the left tip and the foot 9 .[: a long descender (τ, υ; ρ? φ?); possibly more ink at upper left 10 .[: low ink, as of left foot of λ 11 .[: lower left of square (ε? ω? too sharp for ο) 12 Of χ, the left half only (junction too low for λ)

2 The traces at the beginning of this line are confused. But the strong oblique which descends well below line level looks unsuited to any letter. I have taken it as part of a forked paragraphus (parts of the horizontal show as well), though it extends less far to the left than the (final) paragraphus under line 12.

4 ιπ.[: Butes had a daughter Hippodameia (Diod. 4. 70. 3); Ceyx had a son Hippasus (Apd. 2. 7. 7).

8 βουτ[: Butes as son of Poseidon, Hesiod fr. 223; Βουτίδαι fr. 251(a) 2.

9 τοικο.[: τοὶ κοῦ[ρα]ς West.

10 υλλιδ.[: Ὑλλίδα or Ὑλλιδας seem the only real possibilities, given the trace. Two daughters of Hyllus marry two sons of Butes (fr. 251). The patronymic occurs (as the name of a nymph) in Ibycus fr. 1. 41 P.: see Barron, *BICS* 16 (1969) 130.

11 τῶν γε[v- West.

12 ηοιηχ[: the articulation ἦ' οἷη χ[is the most likely, and in turn recommends identification with fr. 73. 1. ἦ' οἷη χ[cannot be excluded, though the genitive of the formula is not so far attested in the fragments.

3000. ERATOSTHENES, *Hermes*

Plate II

20 3B.37/E (1-2) b

9.4 × 16.5 cm.

First century B.C./first century A.D.

Scanty remains from the last two columns of a poem which the end-title shows to be the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. The intercolumnium is occupied by cursive scholia to col. i, mostly on text now lost; if the last line of text aligned with the last line of scholia, the column will have had c. 30 lines originally. The back is blank.

The main text is written in an inept bilinear hand, decorated with occasional emphatic left-pointing serifs; characteristic letters are α with rising cross-bar, bulky ε, κ divided, pointed μ, wide ν, ω with a left-sloping centre bar. This type should belong to the later first century B.C. or the earlier first century A.D.: see the examples in Roberts, *GLH* pls. 9-10. Of the annotators, one wrote capitals with a rather thick pen (schol. 11, 19); the most prolific used a small, neat half-cursive; a few notes, in the same general style but more boldly written, are perhaps by yet another hand (schol. 5, 9, ? 12).

The new fragment adds a new fact, which has some interest despite palaeographic difficulties attaching to it: the poem had about 1,600 lines.¹ For the rest, we now have the last two half-lines of the poem, about 'tongue' and 'writings'; and in col. i references to Paphus, to a temple which escapes rain, to bare feet, and to a kneading-trough. None of this coheres with the book-fragments, which describe the suckling of the young god, and his thieving, and a vision of the heavenly spheres (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, pp. 58 ff.). But the range of such a poem is unpredictable. The *Hermes* of Philetas extended to Polymela (*Coll. Alex.*, p. 91 fr. 5); it is at least possible that 3000 col. i concerned itself with Cinyras (schol. 17 note).

I am greatly indebted to Dr. M. L. West for his help.

¹ Correct the statement in A. S. Hollis's edition of Ovid, *Met.* viii (Oxford, 1970), p. xii n. 1.

	col. i		col. ii	
→	].		ωσκαπελειδιερη[	I
	]αντες	¹ ηνηςος[παφος]	~3~ γραπτ̄υσανθρωπω.[	
	]..ιουνης	² κυπροσημη		
	]νικαλον	³ τροπολιςπαφος		
5	]ατεπολλα		¹⁹ ΓΡΑΠΤΥΕCΑΝ ^Θ	
	]σαντες			
	]ύςσωι· [] ⁴ .Π..ω			
	]γιακυ....			
	]..[]			
10	]ως			
	]]			
	]]			
	] ⁵ επ... οιδεᾱλωμεν̄η οιονπλανωμε.[			
	] ⁶ ..υν... ηςιντοιερον			
	] ⁷ αυτονμησομενον			
	] ⁸ οπηνικαεανβρεχηοζευσ			
	] ⁹ νηλ'α. νήλιπoc		ε̄ρμ̄ης [	
	] ¹⁰ υποδε... []		ε̄ρατοσθενο[	
	]]			
	¹¹]ΔΩ. OP.[]			
	] ¹² ..ωμ... ~3~		ᾱριθ̄ ^μ χ....[	5
	]]			
	]]			
	]]			
	] ¹³ πλαθανοσαγγocτι			
	] ¹⁴ παραπλησιονcκαφαβακι			
	] ¹⁵ ουαιμαζαιφυρωντς			
	¹⁶]...			
	] ¹⁷ ανθε̄μ̄ ᾱ.θ... [] []			
	¹⁸]..... [] []			

Text i 1].: oblique back as of α 3]..: upper left arc of circle; foot of long descender, point level with tops of letters 7 Of]ν only the right-hand prong 8 κυ....: first, high horizontal, tips of two verticals below; last, upper arc of circle? 9]..: high point of ink, then probably acute accent 10]..: serified upright, trace of high horizontal to right

ii 1 ..: foot at line-level; foot of descender; oblique foot as of right side of λ 2 .[: high and low points of ink, as from an upright

Scholia 4 .[: perh. top curve as of ε etc.].ω: foot of upright, oblique foot joining upright (ν ?); upright (ι ?) 5 επ...: upright or left side of curved letter; remains of circular letter (θ ο ω ?); trace of horizontal; high oblique (abbreviation stroke?) 6].: top arc of curved letter ν.: upright η: upright and cross-bar as of τ 9 α.: top of oblique sloping down from left to right; top of upright 10 δε...: first, long high horizontal; last, left-hand arc of circle 11 ορ.[: upright, junction at top as of ν 12 .[]; perhaps an oblique back (α ?) with ν written above it μ...: left corner as of α, δ; foot of descender; angular back (α ? c ?) 17 ᾱ: suprascript letter has oblique descending to join vertical (ν ?) α.: two uprights joined by flattish top

1	].		γλῶσσα πέλει διερη[	1
	]αντες	¹ ἡ νῆκος [[Πάφος]]	γραπτῦς ἀνθρώπων.	
	]ἐριούνης	² Κύπρος, ἡ μη-		
	]νι καλόν	³ τρόπολις Πάφος		
			¹⁹ ΓΡΑΠΤΥΕΣ ΑΝΘ(ΡΩΠ)	
5	]ατε πολλά			
	]σαντες			
	]ύσσωι· [] ⁴ .[]..ω			
	]γιακνπ...			
	]..[]			
10		]..ωσ		
		]		
		]		
		⁵ ἐπιθ(ετικῶς) οἱ δὲ ἀλωμένη οἶον πλανωμέν[η		
		⁶ συγίετησιν τὸ ἱερὸν		
		⁷ αὐτὸν μὴ ὑόμενον		
		⁸ ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν βρέχη ὁ Ζεὺς		
		⁹ νηλ() ἀν- νήλιπος Ἑρμῆς		
		¹⁰ υπόδετος []		
		]		
		¹¹ ΔΩ. OP.[.....]		
		]C ¹² .[]ωμ...		
		]		
		]		
		]		
		¹³ πλάθανος ἄγος τι		
		¹⁴ παραπλήσιον σκαφάβακι		
		] ¹⁵ οὐ αἱ μάζαι φυρῶνται		
	¹⁶]...			
		¹⁷ ανθεμ() ἁ α.θ...[]		
		¹⁸].....[]		

Text Col. i 3] ἐριούνης: Homer has ἐριούνης | Ἑρμείας twice (*Il.* 20. 34, *Od.* 8. 322). No other Alexandrian poet uses the word, or indeed the commoner ἐριούνιος.

4]νι καλόν, ἐ]νι καλόν: for ἐνι or ἐνί, e.g. *Il.* 20. 248 πολέες δ' ἐνι μῦθοι, *Od.* 7. 96 ἐνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι, *Od.* 5. 57 τῷ ἐνὶ νύμφῃ | ναῖεν.

5]ατε,] ἄτε,]α τε (e.g. οἱ]ά τε πολλά Lloyd-Jones).

7]ύσσωι: the marginal note (gloss?)] .[]γιω may or may not refer to this word; in any case it is doubtfully read (perhaps]γη.).

8]γιακυπ...: Κύπρις might be acceptable as a reading. Leonidas, *AP* 6. 293. 1 πότνια Κύπρι.
10]γως or]τως.

Text Col. ii 1 γλῶσσα: if λ is accepted (and the only palaeographic alternatives are α or (just possibly) κ or ν), γλῶσσα seems inevitable. Then δ' ιερη[, δι' ερη[, διερη[. If διερή was intended, the sense is still ambiguous: active (*Od.* 9. 43 διερω ποδί); mortal (so perhaps Ibycus fr. 1. 26 after *Od.* 6. 201, see *BICS*, 1969, p. 128); wet (*Hes. Op.* 460, *Call. fr.* 239). Perhaps the poet contrasts oral tradition with the written record (γραπτύς).

2 γραπτύς: *Od.* 24. 229 γραπτύς ἀλεείνων (schol. τὰς καταξύσεις), 'scratches'; *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 279 f. οἱ δὲ τοὶ γραπτύς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται, | κύρβιας οἷς ἐνὶ πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ κτλ., 'records'. In both passages the form is accusative, and presumably Eratosthenes followed precedent (Schwyzer i 564 quotes contracted nominatives only from Xenophon and Antiphanes). The annotator's γραπτύς (schol. 19) must then be a variant rather than a gloss.

SBT *Iliad* 19. 233... ὀτρυνόν... ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις Ἀντιμάχειος. χαίρει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐκφοραῖς, ὡς τὸ "πολλὴ ἀντιμαχητὺς" (Erat. fr. 31 P.; cf. fr. 33).

ἀνθρώπων[: the trace perhaps suits ἀνθρώπων better than -πωι.

5 ἀριθμ() X...[: the numeral might in theory be alphabetic or acrophonic, see the parallels (up to 1928) set out by Ohly, *Stichometr. Untersuch.* 83-5 (add Menander, *Sicyon.* 426); but the balance of the evidence suggests that a formal copy, especially at this early date, would have an acrophonic total. In that case X = 1,000.

The next trace is an upright, cross-bar joining at the top right: presumably Γ or a compound. Immediately to the right is low ink, apparently the foot of a long descender; then a point at line-level. I suggest that these traces together belong to Γ, '500': this eccentric form, with the middle leg prolonged as if for *sampi*, appears in the end-title of *PLitLond.* 22, *Iliad* xiv, of much the same date as 3000.

The remaining figures are represented by a high point of ink; a short rubbed space; a low horizontal; rubbed space for one or two letters, with part of a low horizontal at the end; then the break in the papyrus. If this line centred approximately with the one above, there may have been one more letter beyond the break. If it followed pattern in having ornamental underlining at start and finish (but not in-between), the second low horizontal can be identified as ornament; but the first must be the base of a letter, i.e. of the numeral Δ or ΓΔ.

On these suppositions, the complete total will have been XΓΓ...[2 or 3]: minimum perhaps XΓΓΔΔ[ΔΔ], 1,540; maximum XΓΓH[Δ[ΔΔ], 1,670.

Scholia 1-3 This is normal doctrine; Paphus as the name of the island is late (*Itin. Anton. Marit.* pp. 526 and 478 Wesseling *Cyprus sive Paphus*; so Servius on *Georg.* 2. 64). In 2688 6 μητροπολεῖτ[ου will mean 'founder of the capital, Paphus' (Lloyd-Jones).

5 επιθ': the reading (rather than επω') seems guaranteed by a trace from the cross-bar of θ. οἱ δὲ κτλ. follows after a space, and perhaps in a different hand. It is therefore not certain that the two comments have the same reference.

ἐπιθ' might be resolved ἐπιθ(ετικῶς); the meaning (to judge from the *Iliad* Scholia) would be 'used as an adjective (not as an appellative or a proper name)', e.g. Σ *Il.* 3. 445a Erbse νῆς δ' ἐν κραναῇ... ἄδῃλον, πότερον ὄνομα κύριόν ἐστιν... ἢ ἐπιθετικῶς τὴν τραχεῖαν; *Il.* 4. 235a² ψευδέειν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐπιθετικῶς ὡς σαφέει. Ἐρμαπίας προσηγορικὸν ὡς βέλεειν.

οἱ δὲ ἀλωμένη, οἷον πλανωμέν[η looks like a gloss on some congener of ἀλᾶσθαι. I should guess at ἀλῆτις, which certainly has ambiguities enough to deserve explanation: (a) 'vagabond', *Iliad* 12. 433 v.l. γυνὴ χερνήτις ἀλῆτις; Page, *GLP* 122. 17 ἀκόμιστο[ς ἀλῆτις; Dion. Perieg. 490 v.l. ἀλήτιδος (ἀλήμονος cett.) Αἰητίνης; Heliod. 7. 7 τινὰ τῶν ἀγειρουσῶν καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀλῆτιν; (b) 'song sung at the festival of Erigone called Αἰοται' (Athen. 618 e, Pollux 4. 55) or the festival itself (Hesych. s.v.); (c) Et. Magn. 62. 5 Ἀλῆτις· τινὲς τὴν Ἡριγόνην τὴν Ἰκαρίου θυγατέρα, ὅτι πανταχοῦ ζητοῦσα τὸν πατέρα ἤλατο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας φασίν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μαλεώτου τοῦ Τυρρηνίου θυγατέρα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μήδειαν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν παίδων πρὸς Αἰγέα κατέφυγεν ἀλητεύσασα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην διότι τοὺς πυροὺς ἀλοῦντες πέμματα τινα προσέφερον αὐτῇ· οὕτω Μεθόδιος; cf. Hesych. s.v. Αἰώρα.

If the guess is right, and if both comments have the same reference, the general outline might be: 'epithet (c) rather than noun (b); others interpret simply as "wandering" (a)'.

6–8 The altar or temple of Aphrodite at Paphus was never rained on: Varro *ap.* Servius *Aen.* 1. 415, Pliny, *NH* 2. 210, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 3 (a different point, apparently, in 2688 5). The same thing is said of other places, e.g. the temple of Athena at Nea (Pliny l.c.), the statue of Artemis Kindyas at Iasus (Polyb. 16. 12).

Given a reference to Paphus above, and a possible reference to Adonis below, the Paphian temple might be in point. Its founder is variously reported (Roscher s.v. Paphia 1562 f.): Agapenor, Aerias, Cinyras. Cinyras, according to Apd. 3. 14. 3, was great-great-great-great-grandson of Hermes, and father of Adonis.

6–7 Perhaps 'He (the poet) represents the temple as not being rained on . . .'; for *convictetai* cf. e.g. ΣΑ *Iliad* 15. 86 and 679. *αὔτον* looks likely as a reading; *a* certainly begins a word (there is blank papyrus before it; and it aligns with line 8). But I can see no obvious meaning for it unless it is intended as neuter and equivalent to *αὐτόματον*.

9 On *νήλιπος* 'barefoot' see Gow on Theoc. 4. 56; the same gloss in Hesychius. If *νήλιπος* is a variant, I do not know how *νηλ'* is to be expanded.

11 After]δω a curving stroke like the beginning of *μ*; then apparently blank until *ορ*.] (perhaps *ορν*).

12 .[]: perhaps *ᾰ* for *ἀν*(τὶ τοῦ).

13–15 For similar definitions, see Gow on Theoc. 15. 115. In *καφάβακι* the beta is oddly shaped, perhaps corrected; the other letters are certain. The word is not attested elsewhere; if right, it must be a compound of *κάφος*/-η and *ἄβαξ*.

17 *ανθεμ*(): several different resolutions are possible; the only clue is the possible mention of flowers in the legible part of the note. Given *πλάθανος* in 13, it is tempting to write *ἄνθεμ*(*a*): Hesychius *ἄνθεμα*· *ἀνάθεμα*· *καὶ μᾶζά τις* (cf. Pollux 6. 76). The whole context would then come close to Theoc. 15. 115 f. *εἶδατά θ' ὅσσα γυναῖκες ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται, | ἄνθεα μίσγοιαι λευκῶ παντοῖα μαλεύρῳ*; Theocritus no doubt intends to etymologize *ἄνθεμα*, from *ἄνθος* rather than *ἀνατίθημι*. It looks as if Eratosthenes had the older writer in mind.

The cakes in Theocritus are offerings to Adonis. One might speculate: Adonis, the Paphian temple of Aphrodite (6), Paphus (1) itself, might all belong to the story of Hermes' descendant Cinyras, or of Adonis (whom Aphrodite hid in a chest, Apd. 3. 14. 4: cf. Eratosth. fr. 4 P.). But only the third of these pointers is more than speculation in itself.

ᾰ: perhaps a nu above the alpha, i.e. *ἀν*(τὶ τοῦ). Then *ανθωδ*] would be tempting, though the flat top suggests *π* rather than *ν*, and *ω* ends with anomalous down-stroke.

3001. HOMERIC VERSES

27 3B.44/D (1-2) b

Fr. 1: 7.5 × 14 cm.

Plate III
Second century

One piece, and three small fragments, from an illustrated text. Frr. 2 and 3, which have traces of paint at the foot, might belong to the upper part of fr. 1; but I have not succeeded in joining them. Fr. 4 has remains in red and black, but no writing. In all the back is blank.

The hand is an informal example of a familiar type (e.g. 1619, 2159-2164, 2328, 2520), decorated with horizontal and oblique half-serifs. I should assign it to the second century.

The legible content of fr. 1 is in hexameters. The subject is Homeric: the scene, *Iliad* 23. 65 ff., in which the ghost of Patroclus appears to Achilles. Homer's Patroclus dwells mainly on his funeral; but adds a short prophecy of Achilles' death (23. 80 f.). This is the theme developed by our writer: Achilles tries to set out; each time the ghost turns him back, then utters a speech of warning (10 ff.). The language too is Homeric: indeed, half the lines are taken verbatim from different contexts in *Iliad* 16-24. The composer shows no obvious parodic intention; his work is apparently a straight-faced half-cento. This assumes that the episode had a heroic frame: the funeral, as in Homer, or (say) the battle at the Scaean gate in which Achilles met his death.¹ But other speculations are possible, see fr. 3. 3 note.

The illustration stands close in technique to the other examples of the same period: 2331, PSI 1368, the Paris Romance (Pack² 2641; Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* pl. 51). The heavy pen outlines are sometimes further thickened with dark grey wash; colour (red, black, and pink) is added in patches. There is no background, and no frame or border: the figure simply poses in mid column.

The figure faces to the reader's right. He leans forward, right arm (red) extended; the right leg (red) is straight, the left leg (black) is bent; the face is red, eye and nose indicated in black. He wears a bowler-shaped hat or helmet; below this, a tunic belted at the waist and partly blacked in below (alternatively, a mail kilt); cross-hatching on the legs perhaps indicates high boots or greaves; a red patch by the shoulders will be a floating cloak. The left hand grasps a spear (partly hidden behind the body) and a small red shield.

The illustration may (but need not) attach to the lines which follow. If so, the figure will be Achilles, arm outstretched towards a ghost now lost on the right. A promising scene for illustration, though not represented elsewhere (R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures* 85 ff.).

¹ This episode was treated in the *Aethiopis* (Proclus, *Chrest.* p. 106 Allen). But I cannot believe that 3001 comes from early epic.

Someone thought it worth while to copy and illustrate this odd confection. Dr. M. L. West suggests a possible connection with the *Homeristai*. To judge from the literary sources, these groups wore armour, and recited and enacted Homeric scenes (Petronius 59; Ach. Tat. 3. 20. 4; Artemidorus 4. 2, p. 245. 19 Pack); the documents show that they performed regularly in Egypt (POslo iii 189. 12 n.).

Fr. 1

→]..[
]...[....].ιτ.[
illustration
]...επυ.[...].ε...ροκ[
]χηφειστηκειγοωσατε[
 5]...λει.ην....υσακατατ[
]σακιδορμησειε.υ.α.[
]σελθεινθυ[.ων..αρου.[
]...σακι[μιν..παρ.ι.[
]ατρο[κλο.και.[...ρος...[
 10]μνησαιπατρος[.]οθεο.[
]ηδεθετινχη[.]ηνλιψης[
]ριντικακο.παθεεινρ.[
]μητ[σαπαθανων.ριαμ[
]μ...ημαλ[.].[.]cγεφιλει[

Fr. 1. 1 ο or ω; then sloping back as of λ 2]...[: tail as of λ; short blank: curve joining low horizontal and upright, ω? 3]...: shallow curve, joining top of vertical: high point above, traces at line-level (δ, λ ?) 4]...[: oblique top and foot as of λ; long high horizontal (τ?) 5]...: end of low curve, horizontal above (ε, c ?); then probably η 6]...: η or π 7]...: δ or λ 8]...: top arc of oval letter (or upper curve as of λ); point at line-level; upright; lower part of circular letter? 9]...: thick (corrected?) horizontal, down-stroke to left 10]...: left curve as of ο 11]...: ε or θ 12]...: initial curve as of μ; curved terminal as of μ; foot of upright; right end of high horizontal 13]...: serifed foot of descender: bottom arc as of ε θ ο c ω; lower curve of ο or c 14]...: trace of high horizontal, foot of upright (π ?) 15]...: lower arc of ε θ ο c 16]...: ε or θ 17]...: η or π 18]...: ο or c 19]...: ε or θ; high point of ink; part of high horizontal or curve 20]...: lower arc of ε θ ο c ω, perhaps trace of cross-bar 21]...: upright 22]...: loop and curving tail as of μ 23]...: curving foot 24]...: tops of two uprights 25]...: upright 26]...: upright, joined from right at top and middle; η or π 27]...: top and vertical as of τ

Fr. 1

	...ιδεπυλ.[]...[.]η.ε..ροκ[	
	ψυ]χῇ ἐφεξ{ι}στήκει γοόωσά τε [μυρομένη τε	<i>Iliad</i> 23. 106
5	Π]ηλείδην...οῦσα κατατ[	
	ός]κάκι δ' ὀρμήσειε πυλάω[ν	22. 194
	..]σελθειν θυ[ρ]έων μ.αρου.[	
	τοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθ[εν ἀποστρέψασκε παραφθάς	22. 197
	Πάτροκλος και.[.]...ρος...[	
10	“μνήσαι πατρὸς σε[τ]ο, θεοῖ[ς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ	24. 486
	μηδὲ Θέτιν χή[ρ]ην λ<ε>ίψης [	
	πρίν τι κακὸν παθέειν· ῥε[χθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω	17. 32, 20. 198
	μή τις ἀπ' ἀθαν<άτ>ων .ριαμ[	cf. 16. 93
	ἐμβήη· μάλ[α] τ[ού]ς γε φιλεῖ [ἐκάργος Ἀπόλλων	16. 94

Fr. 1. 3 ...ιδεπυλ: μ looks the least unlikely interpretation of the first trace, but the join is different in 8 μιν. πυλ might perhaps be πλε or πλο (though the expected junction in λ does not show). At the end κ[is likely (rather than υ[]; πατροκ[cannot be read.

5 ...οῦσα: the articulation assumes another participle. Of the letters, ο is dubious: the arc seems to have ink inside (as of θ), but also a tiny closed loop at the lower right corner. I cannot interpret all the ink as belonging to any one letter; perhaps therefore ο as a correction of some other letter (υ?). Before this, two possibilities: (a) the high curved trace might combine with the foot to give λ (or possibly δ or χ); but I don't see how to proceed. (b) The curve may be a letter on its own. Just possibly Π]ηλείδην ἔργουσα; not Π]ηλείδην νεύουσα.

6 and 8 take over *Iliad* 22. 194 and 197; the composer replaces the intervening Homeric lines with one of his own; and must have replaced *Δαρδανιάων* in 6.

7 ...σελθειν: εἰ]σελθ. hardly suits the context.

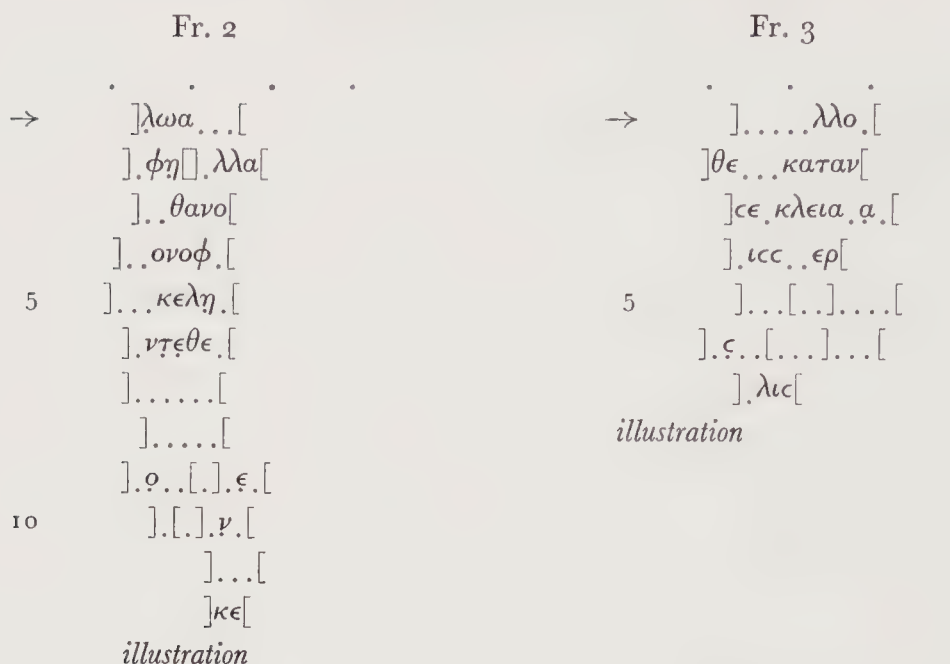
μ.αρου: perhaps μεγάρου, but the letters would be oddly small and crowded. θύρας μεγάρων *Od.* 19. 30 etc.; θυρέων *Od.* 21. 47 and 191.

.[: e.g. π[αρὰ λάνον οὐδὸν (*Od.* 20. 258).

9 We expect a formula to introduce the speech which follows. The final traces allow μῦθ[ον; but πρὸς cannot be read (more like .ερος).

11 χή[ρ]ην has to mean 'bereaved of a son': an ill-considered borrowing from Andromache's lament for Hector (*Il.* 22. 483 f.).

13 f. Adapted from *Iliad* 16. 93 f. μή τις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων ἐμβήη· μάλα κτλ. Πριαμ[suggests itself; but the right side of π ought to be visible.



Fr. 2. 1 ...[: low curve as of ϵ etc.; serified foot: lower part of oblique or curve 3]..: second trace upright, prob. ι 4]..: upright; spots of ink in rough triangle, δ ? .[: high point
 5]...: second flat top and upright as of τ ; then flat top curving down at left, as of ϵ 6 Of τ only the upright and perhaps the left tip .[: left-hand arc as of σ , ϕ , etc.

Fr. 3. 1 ..λ: curved foot as of λ ; then perhaps right side of η or π 3 α.: traces of a round letter? 4]..: traces on a triangle, δ ? 5 Second perhaps κ or $\iota\theta$ 6 ζ.: foot and junction as of λ 7]..: oblique foot, as of λ

Fr. 2. 5 Not ἵπποισι κελητίζειν (*Il.* 15. 679).

Fr. 3. 3 εὐκλεία(ς) could be read; the non-Homeric form might raise doubts about the general content of the piece. But clearly all is uncertain.

3002. ETHOPOEA

19 2B.75/J (e)

17 × 27 cm.

Fourth century

A set of twenty-six hexameters, complete except for a few small lacunae; the text occupies the upper part (slightly more than half) of a single sheet; the lower part, and the back of the sheet, are blank.

The hand is a neat example of a common Byzantine type, which has beginnings in the third century and appears almost unchanged in the sixth (e.g. in the Dioscorus papers, *PLitLond.* pl. vii). In 3002 the loop of ϕ is still relatively small, which suggests

an early date. I should compare e.g. PHermRees 2, and assign the text tentatively to the fourth century.

The scribe writes trema fairly consistently, colon and elision-mark from time to time. Iota adscript is omitted in 12 *Πριάμω* and 13 *νοήσης*; otherwise it appears regularly (notice 15 and 25 dative plurals in *-ης*-. There are no itacisms. All in all, in orthography as in script, this is a very professional piece.

The text might be classified as an *ethopoea*. This exercise is defined as *μίμησις ἥθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου, οἷον τίνος ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀνδρομάχη ἐπὶ Ἑκτορι* (Hermogenes: Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* ii p. 15). Some short hexameter pieces of this kind appear in the Anthology; the papyri have produced others (*AP* 9. 457 ff.; Heitsch, *Gr. Dichterfr.* nos. 21, 26, 37, 38). Some of these start from Homeric situations, and one (21 H.) treats a situation which Homer himself deals with at length. 3002 is different, in that it follows its Homeric original (*Iliad* 1. 207–14) very closely. Homer's Athena restrains Achilles in a speech of eight lines. Her last two lines are rendered in the same compass by 3002 25–6; the material of her first six lines takes up all of 3002 1–24; there are no substantive additions, except perhaps in 21–2. In this respect the new text comes close to the alternative exercise of paraphrase, though all examples known to me (some of them very elaborate) are in prose: see *ZPE*, 1970, pp. 138 ff.

The paraphrast makes his way partly by rhetorical expansion and partly by simple repetition; his sentences join only in asyndeton or with *δέ*. The vocabulary is basically Homeric, with additions from later hexameter poetry. The metre ignores Callimachean niceties (19 and 20 have word-end after both seventh and ninth elements; 20 lacks a secondary caesura (*ὑπο|δρήσων*); 25 is a clear breach of Meyer's bridge); equally it shows no Nonnan tendency to consider accent at the line-end. A piece of threadbare sub-Homer, by a writer incapable of thinking more than one line at a time.

- † εἰ μὲν [ἐ]πὶ Τρώεσσι κορύσσειο χε[ίρ]ας, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
καὶ ξίφ[ο]ς ἀστυφέλικτον ἔρυσσ[ά]μενος κοτέεσκες,
προφρονέως κεν ἔγωγε συνείρ[υ]α φάσγανον αὐτή·
εἰ δὲ τεοῖς Δαναοῖς θωρήσσει[ι, ο]ὐκέτ' Ἀθήνη
5 πείθεται οὐδ' Ἥρη βασιλῆιος· ἔσχεο θᾶσσαν,
ἔσχεο καὶ μῆνιν πολυπήμον[α π]αῦσον, Ἀχιλλεῦ·
μηκέτι δ' ἀργυρέης ἐπιμάσσειο χ[εῖρ]εσι κώπης,
μιμνέτω ἐν κολεῶι σέο φάσγαν[ον]· οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖς
ἀνδροφόνον σε πατὴρ μενεδή[ιος] ἔτρ[ε]αφε Πηλεὺς,
10 οὐ σε Θέτις προέηκε θεὰ βασιλῆι [φ]οινῆα·
μᾶλλον δυσμενέεσσι κορύσσει[ο], μὴ Δαναο[ῖ]σι
σοῖς ἐτάροις Πριάμω δὲ καὶ υἱά[ι] πέμψον .[.]. .ην·

- μήνιδος ἀργαλέης πλήζον μένος, εὖτε νοήσης
 Ἕκτορα καὶ Τρώων κρατερὸν στρατόν· οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς
 15 φάσγανον ἐν κλισίῃσιν ἐθήξαο· θυμὸν ἀχέυεις
 τοῖς ἐτάροις; ἐπέεσσιν κορύσσεο· ἀντὶ δ' ἀκωκῆς
 καὶ ξιφίων μύθοισιν ἐριδμαίνουσιν ἐταῖροι,
 δυσμενέας κτείνουσιν ὀρινομένους περὶ χαλκῶι·
 φ]εῖδεό μοι βασιλῆος, ἵνα Τροίην ἀλαπάξῃ
 20 ζὺν σοὶ μαρνάμενος καὶ ὑποδρήσων σέθεν ἀλκῇ·
 μῆνιν ἀποσκέδασον πολυπήμ[ο]να, μή σέ τις ἀνὴρ
 Αἶα]κίδαην βαρύμηνιν ἐν ὀψιγό[νοισι]ν αἰείσῃ·
 οὐ]χ ἐτάροις κρατερὸν ζ[ε] γέρων [ἐδιδά]ξατο Χείρων,
 ἀ]λκήεντα δ' ἔτευξεν.[.]·αντ.[.....]·λεμι...[]
 25 ἡ]θεῖνι θεῇσι ἐπιπείθεο· σοὶ δ[έ] κεν α]ντὸς
 λιςσόμενος καὶ δῶρα πόροι βα[σιλεὺς] Ἀγαμέμνων.

5 ουδ' βασιλῆος ἔχεο 6 ἔχεο αχιλλευ· 7 κωπη· 9 πηλευ· 10 βασιλῆ
 [φ]ονηα· 12 ην· 15 εθηξασ· 16 κορυσσεο· δ' 17 εταιροι· 18 χαλκωι· 19 ἵνα
 22 αεισιν· 24 δ' .[: curving back as of ε .] : upright, perhaps join to top left .[: upright,
 or back as of ε .] : high right side, as of ο 25]θ: horizontal joining ε at mid height

'If it had been the Trojans against whom you were arming your hands, Achilles, and raging with your invincible sword drawn, I myself would willingly have drawn sword along with you. But if it is against your own people, the Greeks, that you arm yourself, Athena no longer agrees, nor does queenly Hera. Restrain yourself quickly, restrain yourself and put an end to the wrath which brings so many sorrows, Achilles. No longer clutch the silver hilt with your hands; let your sword remain in its scabbard. It was not against Greeks that your father, valiant Peleus, brought you up a slayer of men; it was not as killer of the king that the goddess Thetis bore you. Arm against the enemy instead, not against your comrades the Greeks; send a (threat?) to Priam and his sons; fill your spirit with painful wrath, when you see Hector and the strong army of the Trojans. It was not against Greeks that you sharpened your sword in your tent. Do you feel bitterness in spirit against your comrades? Arm yourself with words: comrades strive with words, instead of sharp edge and swords; their enemies they kill in rout with bronze weapons. I would have you spare the king, so that he may sack Troy, fighting along with you and assisting your valour. Dissipate the wrath which brings so many sorrows, lest some man in later generations sing of you as Aeacides heavy in wrath. It was not to be a strong man against your comrades that aged Chiron taught you; he made you valiant... Obey the goddesses your friends; and king Agamemnon himself would beseech you and give gifts.'

1 The initial sign is more than an elongated cross; the horizontal turns down at the left, up at the right. Perhaps a version of the crossed *N*, for which see *ZPE* 10 (1973) 150.

κορύσσεο χε[ῖρ]ας: *AP* 9. 460. 3 Παλλὰς ἐφ' Ἕκτορι χεῖρα κορύσσει ἡμετέρην (one of a series of hexameter epigrams on Homeric themes). In Homer κορύσσεσθαι appears absolute, or with an instrumental dative.

- 2 *Od.* 9. 300 etc. *ξίφος δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ*.
ἀστυφέλικτον: not in Homer; Callimachus etc.
- 3 *συνείρν[ε]*: a very rare verb, which elsewhere means 'draw together'. Homeric usage would require the middle.
- 5 *βασιλήιος*: in Homer only *Od.* 16. 401 *γένος β.*
- 6 Cf. especially *Od.* 24. 543 *ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος*.
πολυπήμον[α]: *HHCer.* 230, *Merc.* 37 and later poets.
- 7 *Il.* 1. 219 *ἦ, καὶ ἐπ' ἀργυρέῃ κώπῃ*, *Od.* 8. 403–4 *κώπη | ἀργυρέῃ*; *Od.* 11. 531 *ξίφος δ' ἐπεμαίετο κώπῃν*. *ἐπιμάσσειο* (the reading is certain) conflates *-μαίεο* and *-μασσαιο*.
- 9 *Il.* 22. 421 *Πηλεὺς, ὅς μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε πῆμα γενέσθαι*.
- 10 *Il.* 15. 254–5 *τοῖόν τοι ἄοσσητήρα Κρονίων | . . . προέηκε παρεστάμεναι*; 18. 184 *Ἥρη με προέηκε*.
- 12 *πέμψον* is virtually certain; what follows ends in *λην* or *δην*. Perhaps *ἄ[π]ειλήν*; cf. Nonnus, *D.* 20. 193 f.
- 13 *Od.* 2. 199 *μνηστὸς ἀργαλέης*; *Il.* 17. 384–5 *ἔριδος . . . ἀργαλέης*; *Od.* 3. 135 *μήνιος ἐξ ὀλοῆς*. Homer always has *-ιος*, not *-ιδος*.
πλῆκον μένος: an odd extension of *Il.* 1. 103–4 *μένεος μέγα φρένες . . . πίμπλαντ'*, and similar expressions.
- 14 *κρατερόν στρατόν* not in Homer (*κρατερὰς . . . φάλαγγας* etc.).
- 15 — *ἔν κλισίῃσιν Il.* 9. 263 etc.
- θυμὸν ἀχέυεις*: Homer has only the participle, *Il.* 5. 869 etc.
- 17 *Il.* 16. 260 *ἐριδμαίνουσιν ἔθοντες*; *Il.* 2. 342 *ἐπέεσσ' ἐριδαινόμεν*.
- 18 *Il.* 9. 243 *ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ*, *Il.* 8. 86 *κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῷ* etc.
- 20 *ὑποδρήσων* not in Homer; A.R. 3. 274, Musae. 143, Nonn. *D.* 48. 297 (all in the same *sedes*).
- 21 *Il.* 19. 77 (*v.l.*) *μῆνιν ἀναστενάχων*.
- 22 *Od.* 1. 302 *ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐὺ εἴπῃ* etc., adapted to refer forward to Homer: a touch of spirit, for once.
- βαρύμηνιν*: not in Homer; several times in Nonnus.
- 24 Perhaps *ἐπ' ἀντι[βι] . . . π[ο]λεμ[ι] . . .*, *ἀντι[β]ίους π[ο]λεμιστά[ε]* founders on the tau, which does not suit the trace. *π[ο]λεμίσσα[ι]* (Rea) could be read; an aorist of this verb is not attested elsewhere. Cf. *Il.* 3. 435 *ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν*.
ἀλκήεντα: first in *HH* 28. 3.
- 26 *Od.* 4. 130 etc. *πόρε δῶρα*. Homer has *κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων*, never *βασιλεὺς Ἀ.*

3003. HOMERIC NARRATIVES

19 2B.76/D (1–2) a

15.8 × 15.5 cm.

Second century

Remains of two columns, written in a round informal hand with frequent cursive forms; the back is blank. The scribe writes middle stop in i 3, and several times a high stop in the form of a short oblique; there are occasional accents and breathings, some perhaps by the second hand which added a correction at ii 15. The Homeric lemmata begin a new line at i 12 and ii 15; they begin in mid line at i 3 (but this is just a continuation of the passage preceding) and ii 2 and perhaps ii 19.

The text falls into sections: i 3 the Phlegyae, i 12 Aeneas, the death of Anchises, the founding of Aeneas; ii 3 Danae and Perseus; ii 15 the aegis and Amalthea. Each section begins with a lemma from Homer. The lines chosen come, in correct sequence, from *Iliad* 13, 14, and 15. They are widely separated, and selected for their mythological content.

Prof. Erbse, to whom I am indebted for much help, compares 418, PSI 1173, PSchubart 21 (see Merkelbach, *Archiv* 16 (1958) 117 f.): all these contain collections of Homeric *ἱστορίαι*, of the kind which lies behind the medieval D-Scholia. (See M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text & Scholia of the Iliad* i 303 ff.)

3003 treats the Phlegyae and Aeneas in almost as much detail as the D-Scholia. As might be expected in compilation literature, there is a wide but not complete overlap; despite general uniformity of matter, and extensive verbal coincidence, each story has at least one unique detail (i 3 the home of the Phlegyae; i 19 ff. the foundation of Aeneas). But the narratives in col. ii (3 ff., and especially 15 ff.) show considerable abridgement against the medieval versions; it may be that our copyist became bored and started to epitomize.

The D-Scholia are quoted from Dindorf's edition (vol. ii, A; iv, B; vi, T).

Col. i

-
] . [.] . [
- c. 13 Θεσσα]αλο[ι] καλουντα[ι η] ιστορια πα-
 c. 8] η[ε με]τα Φλεγυας μεγ[αλητο]ρος. Φλε- *Il. 13. 302*
 γυαι]ουντες . φερθ . νιαν ελη[ζον]το τους πε-
 5 ριοικους]. Θηβαιων δε ευλαβουμε[νω]ν αυτους
 οι περι Ζηθ]ον καὶ Αμφιονα τειχι' ζ' ουσι την πολιν· ει-
 χε γαρ Αμ]φιων απο των Μουσων λυραν χρυσην·
 δι ης τους] λιθους επειθεν ο ουκετι ηλθον οι Φλεγυ-
 αι]ες εως αποθανοντων των περι Ζη[θο]ν
 10 συν Ευρυ]μαχω τω βασιλει επηρχοντο κα . ξερο . [. . .]
] αυτους Απολλων κατεταρτ[α]ρωσεν·
 βηναι επ] Αινειαν τον δ υστατον ε[ν]υρ[εν] ομιλου' *Il. 13. 459*
 Τροιας αλ]ουσης Αινειας αποπλεων μετα του πα-
 τρος τη]ν θρεψασαν γην εναυαγησεν π[ε]ρι Αθω[ω]
 15]θεντων δ αυτων συμβα[ι]νει τον Αγχι-
 σην δια τ]ε το γηρας και τον κοπον τελευτησαι
]η δε υπο του υιου Αινειου· οπου και τα
 νυν ταφος] Αγχειου καλουμενος· γενομενου δε
]ν κατα πρυμναν φησι τω ζυακι της
 20] . ου περι . [.] . ρ . ν επιστην[αι ε]νθα κατα
 την Αφρο]διτης της μητρος εντολ[ην κ]τιζει πο-

Col. ii

- 1] . ορειαπ[
] ουκατες . [. . .] . [. Δανα-
 ης καλλιςφυρρου] Il. 14. 319
 Α]ργους βασιλεως [
 5 νομενω τωπα[
 κρεινατο· ο δε οργ[
 κα[θ] αυτην βαλλει]
 θαλασσαν· π . [. . .]
 νησω ανα . [. β[
 10 της βασιλειας φ[
 γαρ εκαλ . . . οοπα[
 / . κτελε . . . συντ[
 φευγοντο . . [. . .] . [
 χ . . . υτου . [
 >— ειρες
 15 αλλα συ γ εν χειρι [λαβ αιγιδα θυεσσαν Ρεα τε- Il. 15. 229
 κουσα Δια . . [. [
 . αθεμενη τον π[
 και Θέμιδι ἡ δε[
 την Αμαλθιαν [
 20 γαντοςε . ρ [
 κεναι ταυτην λ[

- i 1] . [] : very long descender, ρ or φ 20] . : γ, c, or τ
 ii 1] . : upright, right horizontal at top 2] . : first a long descender as of ρ or φ 6 . [:
 upright 7 . [: round back and cross-bar (ε or θ) 8 . [: long descender] . : upper curve as
 of c . . [: upright with projection at middle height; curve and top as of α λ μ 9 . [: peak as of δ λ
 11 . ο : upright and horizontal as of τ 12 . κ : upper curve as of ε c ε . . : curved back and
 cross-bar (ε θ c) : upper curve and horizontal to right (ε θ) ; upright with horizontal bar above
 13 . [: top of upright 14 : upper left quadrant as of c ; o ? ; upright with horizontal above ;
 upper left quadrant as of c χ . : upright, upright, trace of cross-bar between ? . υ : upper curve,
 low tail joining υ (α ?) 16 . . [: upper curve and cross-bar as of θ ; top of upright . [: upright
 with cross-bar to right 17 . : foot of upright 20 ε . : upright ρ . : upright with cross-bar
 at middle height . [: upright 21 Space before λ[

(Col. i) ' . . . "Ephyrians" is a name for Thessalians; the story is in . . . "Or against the valiant Phlegyans": the Phlegyans, who lived in . . . , used to plunder their neighbours. As the Thebans were taking precautions against them, Zethus and Amphion and their friends built a wall for the city; Amphion had received from the Muses a gold lyre, with which he charmed the stones. So the Phlegyans

stopped coming, until after the death of Zethus and his friends they were attacking every year with their king Eurymachus . . . Apollo hurled them into Tartarus.

“To go to Aeneas; and him he found last in the throng”: after the capture of Troy, Aeneas sailed away from his native land with his father and was shipwrecked around Athos . . . They were saved, but it came about that Anchises died from age and fatigue; and he was buried by his son Aeneas, at the place where there is still the so-called Tomb of Anchises. And . . . he says that a dove alighted on the rudder of his ship (?); and there, in obedience to the behest of his mother Aphrodite, he founded a city . . .’

Col. i 2–3 The end of comment on *Il.* 13. 301, followed without paragraphing by lemma and comment for 302: Ἐφύρους μέτα θωρήσσεσθον | ἥ μετὰ Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας.

2 Θεσσαλο[ι glosses Ἐφύρους; ἡ] ἱστορία πα[ρὰ should name the authority. τοὺς καλουμένους Κρανωνίους ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱστορεῖ ΣΑ (Θεσπρωτοὺς ΣΒ; οἱ μὲν Θεσπρωτοὺς . . . οἱ δὲ Κρανωνίους ΣΤ). If Apollodorus was cited here, the name must have been abbreviated: the initial lacuna in 3 has room for c. 8 letters only. The following lemma is set off by a blank space, which may itself have extended back into the lacuna.

3–11: *Il.* 13. 302. Our text and ΣΑ agree very closely in outline (but Α adds a reference to the burning of the Delphic temple, and cites Pherecydes); some of the same material in Τ; a single sentence in Β.

3 μεγ[αλητο]ρος: simple error for -ας.

4 ΣΑ has Γόρτυναν κατοικοῦντες; Τ mentions Gortyn or Daulis.¹]ουντες will be the participle; what follows ought to be a place-name. But the substantial remains fit no known place-name. I read .φερθ.νιαν, in which the φ is almost certain (the left half of the bowl, and the foot of the descender); after θ the trace (complicated by a long descender from above) looks most like ε; before φ is a single low point, which might be the tip of ε preceding (but unusually low) or the top of ι(ων) below (unusually high), or belong to a substantive ι or ρ. Βεῖθνίαν is unattractive both as a reading and as a home for Phlegyae.

8 ἐπειθεν ο: δ ‘for which reason’ looks rather high-flown. Did he intend ἐπειθε· διό?

9 e.g. δεδιότ]εσ (Erbse).

10 κα.ετρ.[: perhaps κατ’ ἔτρος (Rea). καὶ ετρ.[(e.g. ἐτολ[μη-) makes it harder to imagine a construction for the next line.

12–21 *Il.* 13. 459. Our text and Α agree very closely; nothing in Β and Τ.

12 A dash is written above (Αιν)ει(αν): presumably a mark of quantity, rather than a means of separating paragraphs.

13 ἀποπλέων: ‘seltsam, exspectes ἀπολιπών’ (Erbse).

15 e.g. ω]θέντων.

17 e.g. ἐκηδεύθ]η.

17–18 καὶ τὰ | [νῦν: καίτ is an acceptable reading, except that all four letters are touched by a horizontal stroke at line-level (it may extend also to the final α, but the surface is damaged). Did the scribe mean to delete the words? ΣΑ has ὅπου καὶ νῦν.

18 ff. Α has: θάψας δὲ αὐτὸν Αἰνείας ὅπου καὶ νῦν τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀγχίλου λεγόμενος ἐν πυάνῃ κατὰ βούλησιν τῆς μητρὸς Α. πόλιν ἔκτισεν. 3003 clearly gave a more circumstantial account. At the beginning, Erbse suggests: γενομένου δὲ | [τοῦ ἀνέμο]ν κατὰ πρύμναν. The rest depends on two doubtful readings: στακι: c looks certain (not φ). The traces following are the top of an oval, and the upper right-hand arc of a circle: I have taken these together as the prongs of υ.

περι.[.].ρ.ν: after περι, upright and high cross-bar, as of γ or ο or π or square ε; before ρ perhaps the top loop and cross-bar of ε; after ρ a much damaged letter, perhaps the loop and tail of α.

I have tried two approaches. (1) ‘Aeneas tells . . . to halt at . . .’. περὶ [.]εραγ would then be a geographical expression, locating Aeneas. But I have found no suitable reading. (2) ‘He says that a dove alighted on . . .’. But this requires the reading περις[τ]εράγ, where the space is really too narrow for τ; and in any case φησι now lacks a subject. Neither (1) nor (2) makes sense of στακι, if it derives from σταξ ‘a kind of pulse’. The word may be corrupt: τῷ οὔακι τῆς | [νεῶς αὐ]τοῦ would at least have some relevance.

¹ Gortyna is a mistake (or variant) for Gyrtona: see the other sources for the habitat of the Phlegyae, collected by H. Grégoire, *Asklepios* 113 f.

ΣΑ has a *vox nihili*, ἐν πυανῇ. πύανος, like *cūaξ*, is a kind of beans or pulse: but this coincidence seems to lead nowhere. Possibly ἐν Πύδωνῃ, across the gulf from Aenea?

Col. ii 1-2 I have not identified the subject. There are two clues. (1) It looks as if an authority was cited: ἡ ἱς|τορεία π[αρά. (2) The next lemma begins at the end of line 2, not in a new paragraph: when this happens at i 3, the lemmata come from consecutive lines. But (1) leads nowhere, for the extant scholia cite authority several times between 13. 459 and 14. 319. (2) would point to 14. 317 (Ἰξιονίης) as the subject; but the argument is shaky, see 19-21 note.

2-14 ll. 14. 319. Our text has the same story in outline as AB, omitting the underground chamber and the role of Proetus; but the wording differs substantially. Supplements might assume that the line-length was the same as in col. i, i.e. c. 35/40 letters, cf. 15.

3 .[: the trace is indeterminate. The lemma may continue with Α[κρισιωνης; or the comment begin here.

4-6 Danae was daughter of Acrisius king of Argos; she became pregnant; when her father asked who her lover was, she answered 'Zeus'. Restore (as Erbse suggests) πυνθα|νομένη τῷ πα[τρὶ - - ἀπε]|κρεῖνατο.

6-7 e.g. ὁ δὲ ὀργυ[χθεῖς - - εἰς λάρνα]|κα.

8-9 e.g. πρ[ο]ς...θεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν *Κερίφω* τῇ | νήσῳ ἀναλ[α]μβ[άνει]. But I can't read a suitable participle (in the sense of *προσενεχθεῖσαν*) at the beginning.

10-11 e.g. ἐκ | τῆς βασιλείας φ[εύγει ὁ Ἀκρίσιος' οὐτῶ] | γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ πα[τήρ]. But what then is the reference of 13 *φεύγοντος*?

12 The most likely reading is *εκτελεσεῖ*, i.e. *ἐκτελέσει(ν)*? In the margin an oblique stroke, which may refer to this line or the next: does it mark a passage needing correction?

15-19 ll. 15. 229. Approximately the same in outline as AB (T has a quite different note): but here Rhea deposits the child with ... and Themis; and Themis takes it to Amalthea; the rest of the story (the Titans and the childhood of Zeus) is omitted.

15 *χερι* corrected to *χειρεcci* by a second hand.

17 e.g. πα[ρ]αθεμένη τὸν π[αῖδα]. (Not *κα]τα-* or *με]τα-*, since there is preserved papyrus where the cross-bar of τ would show.)

19-21 It is tempting to restore this as comment on 15. 256, where AB write *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Διὸς καὶ Μαίης τῆς Ἀτλαντος εὖρε λύραν*. Then 20 *γαντος εὖρε*... [(the remaining traces are too slight to confirm *λύρ[αν]*), 20-1 *ἡύρη|κέναι ταύτην λ[έγεται]*. This means that a completely new topic begins after the *vacat* in 19, which is not impossible. But the absence of paragraphus is disquieting; and I can think of nothing for the beginning of 20 except *γῆ|γαντος* as a description of Atlas.

3004. GNOMOLOGY

25 3B.55/D (c)

9.5×7 cm.

Plate I
First century

A slip of papyrus, written in a cramped and ugly hand without lectional signs; the letter-forms may be compared with those of 216 (Roberts, *GLH* 10a) and assigned to the earlier first century. The writer made several mistakes, and one line at least is hopelessly garbled: a school exercise, perhaps.

The slip contains iambic *gnomai*; the first line begins with α, the second with β, and so on up to ν, where the set breaks off. The same hand has added a single line, not related to the series, on the back. Lines 1 to 7 pursue a single topic (filial piety); 1 to 3 even form a syntactic unit, and so in effect do 4 and 5. From 8 on there is no more relation between successive lines than might be expected in a group of precepts for the good life.

Such alphabetic sets are not new: S. Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* Pap. II, VIII (also incomplete), IV (in reverse order). IV, like our text, begins with an attempt at

continuous sense. These examples make it clear that the set was constructed by selection from larger compilations; but it seems likely enough that the writer could supplement them from his own invention or adaptation, especially when he wished to produce a sentence of more than one line. In fact, of the fourteen lines in 3004, three occur in the transmitted *Sententiae*. The rest I have not identified elsewhere.

One at least of the unattested lines may go back to New Comedy. Clitopho in line 1 has no obvious function. Assume that the name was taken over regardless from an original dramatic context: it would be tempting to assign the line (and accordingly line 2, which completes it) to the same play as Menander fr. 598 K:

αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πατέρα, Κλειτοφῶν, μόνον.
ἀντιβλέπειν ἐκείνον οὐ δυνήσομαι
ἀδικῶν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ῥαδίως χειρώσομαι.

Both are very filial sentiments. Clinia might have addressed Clitipho, in Terence's *Heauton*, in such terms; and there is nothing to stop us attributing the two fragments to the Menandrian original. But clearly the possibilities are too wide to make speculation worth while.

The survival of the proper name may seem odd. But there is an instructive parallel. *Monost.* 698 reads ῥάθυμος ἐὰν ᾦς πλούσιος πένης ἔσῃ (and so verbatim Pap. II 17 Jäkel). The same line appears in an alphabetic set (Pap. IV 8 Jäkel) as ῥάθυμος ἐὰν ᾦς, Φανία, πένης ἔσει. Körte (*Archiv* xiv 126) suggested that Phania was the rich man of Menander's *Citharista*; and that πλούσιος is an adaptation, to make the line more intelligible in isolation.

On gnomologies see 3005 introduction.

- ἀρετῇ<ν> νόμιζε Κλειτοφῶν εἰν[
βεβαιότητα καὶ φιλίαν τὴν προ[
γνούς ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἔδειξε τουτος . . τοφ[
δίκαιον εὐθύς ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν μητέρα·
5 ἐκ]ύησεν ἐμόχθησεν ἐξέτρεψε . . . [
ζῶ]ν εἴνεκ' αὐτῶν ἀπόδος αὐτοῖς τὴν χά[ριν
ἡδὺ] μετὰ τούτων εὐτυχεῖν καὶ δυστυχ[εῖν
θε]ράπευε τούς τε δυναμένους οἰς [
ἰσό]τητα τειμᾶν μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν μηδ[ένα
10 κ]ακὸν ἂν διώκης κέρδος ὀδυνήσῃ . . [
λέ]ων ενοικων νεβροσιστινυμμα . [
μ]έμνησο πλουτῶν τοῦ<ς> πένητας εὖ ποιεῖ[ν
ν]εονδαδεκακατωιτατης τύχης
14 (Back ↓) θεὸς θεῶι δίδ[υμ]ωσι δεξιαν . [

3 c...: back and base of round letter: foot of descender 5[: upright?; upright; upright or back of rounded letter; high point of ink 8[: closed loop, perh. o ligatured to following letter; third trace perh. a (δ), or o, or loop of β or φ; fourth prob. λ; last ε or θ 10 ..[: right end of thick horizontal; riser as of λ

1 Supplement e.g. εἰν[αι μόνην.

2 Supplement e.g. τὴν πρό[ς γονεῖς. Stobaeus IV 25. 31a (author unknown) βεβαιότεραν ἔχε τὴν φιλίαν (Gaisford: τ. φ. ε. MSS.) πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς.

3 I suppose ἔδειξε τοῦτό σοι τὸ φ[ῶς, 'gave you life', though I cannot parallel the phrase.

5 Read ἐκ[ύης, ἐμόχθης, ἐξέθρεψ(εν). Menander fr. 685 K is similar: <ὑπ>εδεξάμην, ἐτικτον, ἐκτρέφω, φιλῶ. This suggests ἐξέτρεψεν (l. ἐξέθρεψ') ἐφ[ίλησέ σε in our text, but phi is unlikely as a reading.

6 εἵνεκ': Lloyd-Jones remarks that the Attic form is οὔνεκα (see Barrett on E. *Hippolytus* 453-6). Extant Menander uses only ἔνεκα.

7 ἡδύ]: e.g. *Monost.* 303. Pap. III 7 and 9 Jäkel ὡς ἡδὺ γονέων καὶ τέκνων ὁμιλία.

8 *Monost.* 337 θεράπευε τὸν δυνάμενον αἰεὶ c' ὠφελεῖν. Our writer perhaps intended τοὺς γε, and then <c>οι; but I cannot read a suitable infinitive at the end.

9 *Monost.* 362 (μὴ Σ, καὶ Mk, om. A). The apparent infinitives here are probably simple misspellings; read τίμα, πλεονέκτει.

10 At the end, πλ[έον suits the traces well.

11 λέ[ων seems inevitable, since the initial lacuna (which corresponds exactly with μ] in line 12) will scarcely hold more than two letters. Then ἐνοικῶν or ἐν οἴκῳ{ν}; at the end perhaps συμμαχ[-. If some form of νεβρός was intended, we could compare the proverb ὁ νεβρὸς τὸν λέοντα (Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 8. 1). But it may well be corrupt: λέων ἐν οἴκῳ δόλιός ἐστι σύμμαχος? (I owe this view of the general sense to the Press Reader: compare the fable in Aesch. *Ag.* 717, Aristoph. *Ran.* 1431. As an alternative model he suggests Aristoph. *Pax* 1189 οἴκοι μὲν λέοντες, ἐν μάχῃ δ' ἀλώπεκες.) Or ιςτι may conceal εἰς τί (Lloyd-Jones).

12 *Monost.* 478 (but there ὠφελεῖν).

13 νέον at the beginning, perhaps τὰ τῆς τύχης at the end (though the sigma of τῆς has been corrected or overwritten). I can make nothing of the middle. δξ looks like a correction; λ might be intended instead of δ; ε is overwritten on what was perhaps the shaft and left cross-stroke of τ, so that the combination resembles θ. The sense should be νέον ὄντα δεῖ σε καρτερεῖν τὰ τῆς τύχης (Lloyd-Jones).

14 At the end, probably δεξιὰν χ[έρα. I have found no parallel for this pleasing line: is it a variation on ἃ χεῖρ τὰν χεῖρα νίξει?

3005. GNOMOLOGY

Plate II

9 1B.181/G (b)

13.5 × 18.5 cm.

Second/third century

The recto of this roll contained a register of persons; the register mentions the 9th year of Domitian (i 4) and an unspecified (current) 7th year (ii 1), and refers to an *epicrisis* in the 2nd year of Hadrian (ii 3). The back has been reused for an anthology of iambic *gnomai*, written in a Severe Style of familiar type.

The anthology is arranged under subject-headings: i 12 [περὶ εὐδοξίας] καὶ ἀδοξίας, 20 [περὶ ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτου (both set off by a scalloped border above); i 1–11 presumably belong to a section περὶ χάριτος καὶ ἀχαριστίας, continued from the preceding column; the blank beginnings ii 4, 9, and 14 imply similar indented headings. Paragraphi separate individual *gnomai*, some of which extend to more than one line (i 2–3, ii 2–3, 6–7, 10–11).

This sort of arrangement (as against the commoner alphabetic series) has some parallels in papyrus anthologies: see Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 70 ff. Equally it recalls Stobaeus, who has sections περὶ ἀχαριστίας (ii 46, including 3005 i 2–3, 6–7), περὶ εὐδοξίας (ii 17, lost), and περὶ ἐλπίδος, περὶ τῶν παρ' ἐλπίδα (iv 46–7, including 3005 i 21 and perhaps 24).

Stobaeus is the parallel for another remarkable feature. In col. ii, where the left margin is preserved, it can be seen that the scribe noted the source of the quotations: τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ), Κόλακ(ος), Συνερώ(της), [Βοι?]ωτ(ίας). *Colax* and *Synerosa* are plays of Menander; so too is *Boeotia*, assuming the supplement to be correct.

This raises a further question. Two or three plays of Menander are explicitly referred to in col. ii. Four or five lines in col. i are identifiable elsewhere; all belong to Menander. The presumption is, then, that the unidentified lines come from the same author. There is one argument against this: τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ii 2) would normally mean 'from the same writer', and imply that other writers were cited. But the sense 'from the same play' is at least possible, and should be preferred.

If the anthology is entirely Menandrian, it has no exact parallel. There is indeed a recension of the *Monostichoi* under subject-headings (Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* p. xi); the heading εἰς ἀχαριστίαν includes 3005 i 6–7. But that collection confines itself to single lines, and never notes the source. 3005 is therefore unique in form; and, since it overlaps very little with other surviving collections, it provides new material at least for Menander's vocabulary.

For gnostic anthologies in general, see S. Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* (1964). Some new texts have appeared since this edition: 2661; *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962) 114; *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 71; 3004; 3006. Full publication of the Greco-Coptic versions, and bibliography, in *ZPE* 3 (1968) 15 ff. (with corrections in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 288, *CE* 47 (1972) 351).

Col. i

↓]οιπον αυταρκης[
ουχι την αυτην εχ]ει
διανοιαν αιτων εις] εκαστος και λαβω[ν
]εν τοις πασιν ανθρωποις χαρις
5]μπυρευμ' ακαρη]δετι
αιει δ ο σωθεις εστι]ν αχαριστον φυσει
αμ ηλεηται και τε]θνηκεν η χαρις
]παθη κρινει φιλον
]κοτως χαριν τ' εχει
10]σαντις αποδοιη χαριν
]εται τροπωι χαρις
] και αδοξιας
]ν'εστ' ευδοξια
]ιοτ' ουδ αδοξιας
15]υνηζει. τετταρων
].στ' ἴως[]θηνη
]. γαρ ωνια
]ρα: μη τα προς τρυφην
]ρος τον οχλον ευδοξια
] και απροσδοκητου
20 ω Ζευ πολυτιμηθ οι]ον εστ' ελπις κακον
]πασιν κακων
].□.[...ν προει
]ροσδοκαν[

Col. ii

	.	.	.	.
1		[	]	[
	του α	[	]	ορω
		[	]	υχοθ
5	κολα ^κ			αλαζ
	ενερε ^ω			π. . ρ
				αυτω
				ωσ ηδυ
10				ευνοιαρ
				απα
				τρ
				στι
15				στι
				ν

ii 1 Long flat base joining upright (ω?) 2] : high horizontal as of τ [: long descender
 6 π. . : left-hand arc; foot of upright 11 [: upright 12] : short vertical [: round back,
 o or c 16] : upright], upright

Col. i To judge from the probable supplements in 2-3, 6-7, and 21, the lines of this column lack c. 15 letters to the left.

1 λ]οιπόν; then αὐτάρκης [υ - or αὐτάρκη ε[υ -.

2-3 Menander fr. 477 (Stob. ii 46. 8).

4 This line projects some five letters further to the right than any other. It seems unlikely that the anthologist would include a trochaic tetrameter; in any case the diaeresis would fall awkwardly after τοῖς. Perhaps the quotation included the last word or two of a line, followed by a complete trimeter: long, but not long enough to be set out in two lines as with 2-3. Cf. *Monost.* 743 τέθνηκεν' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπαα χάρις (πᾶσιν ἢ χάρις Meineke), which suggests τέθνηκεν' ἐν here.

5 ἐ]μπύρευμ' seems the only possibility. Then ἀκαρή[ε], or ἀκαρή if the small lacuna was blank; δ' ἔτι or δέ τι. The η has been corrected, perhaps from α; but the final intention is clear. Extant Menander uses ἀκαρής adverbially, 'all but' (Austin on *Aspis* 307). There is not much room for a construction. It is, I suppose, just possible that the sense extended into line 6, which must then have had some form other than that transmitted in the MSS. Or 5 might be corrupt: ἀκαρή[ε] δ' ἔτ' <ε>ι? Lloyd-Jones.

6-7 *Monost.* 42-3 = Men. fr. 478 and 479 (Stob. ii. 46. 9 and 9a), except that fr. 479 continues with a further line to make a couplet. MSS. of *Monost.* give ἀχαρίστος; the papyrus agrees with L of Stobaeus in the neuter, which is clearly to be preferred (Kühner-Gerth i 59).

8 συμ]παθῆ; cf. *Monost.* 385 κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρός.

9 εἰ]κότως.

- 10] ϵ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$: the initial trace looks most like a right-hand arc, i.e.] $\sigma\epsilon$ or] $\omega\epsilon$.
 12 Supplement $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\xi\iota\alpha\varsigma$, or perhaps $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\eta\varsigma$.
 13] ν $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau'$; or $\acute{\epsilon}] \nu\epsilon\sigma\tau'$, $\epsilon\upsilon] \nu\epsilon\sigma\tau'$.
 14] $\iota\sigma\tau'$: τ has been corrected, perhaps from ρ . $\acute{\epsilon}] \nu\iota\sigma\tau'$ suggests itself; but the initial trace is part of a low upright; with ν , which tends to the right, one might expect to see the upward continuation.
 15] $\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$: the first trace is a short upright, or right-hand arc, at about half line-height: this suggests $\omicron$ or ρ (not δ or κ); at the end, probably the top of a damaged ϵ . I have found nothing to fit either $-\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or $-\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. Three or four cubits is the entire kingdom of even the most famous in death (*Comp.* ii 57 f. Jäkel).
 16] $\epsilon\tau'$: the traces (a high point, horizontal at mid height below) would suit $\epsilon\sigma\tau'$. After $\iota\omega\omega\epsilon$ there is space for two letters; there is no sign of ink, although the surface is well preserved.
 17] $\cdot$: a junction, probably the right half of ν . Cf. Menander fr. 306 $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\tau\iota\mu\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. | $\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$.
 18 'Seek modest sufficiency, not luxury.'
 19 $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. 'Fame with the mob is not worth having.'
 20 $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$] $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
 21 Menander fr. 289 (Stob. iv 46. 8): *Naukleros*.
 23 $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\iota$: many lines follow this pattern, e.g. *Monost.* 520.
 24 Perhaps Menander, *Cith.* fr. 7, cited by Stob. iv 46. 9 immediately after line 21: $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ $\tau\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$.
 Col. ii 1 If the alignment with col. i is exact, this will have been the sixth line of col. ii. Enough margin survives to show that no note of source was attached to this line or the two (now lost) before it: i.e. a citation of at least four lines.
 2 $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ α^- : $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha(\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ in Stobaeus refers to the author. But here the note (again perhaps in 10) stands on a par with the names of plays in 5 etc.; understand accordingly $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The line cited perhaps began $\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\omega\phi$ [$\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ or sim.
 3 Perhaps $\omicron] \upsilon\chi$ $\acute{o}$ θ [e.g. θ [$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$.
 5 $\kappa\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\kappa(\omicron\varsigma)$. The line was perhaps *Monost.* 35 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu$. (Menander fr. 520, a line and a half, is too long.)
 6 $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}(\varsigma\eta\varsigma)$. The traces suit $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho$ [$\acute{\omega}$; but none of the known lines with this beginning (*Monost.* 634, 657, 675) goes well with $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$.
 8] $\omega\tau'$: of Menander's known titles, only *Βοιωτία* and *Στρατιῶται* fit the two surviving letters; and if the marginal notes began in alignment with one another, *Στρατιῶτ(ῶν)* is too long.
 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ is a very common beginning: *Monost.* 855 etc.
 10 The trace in the margin is a long horizontal, which would suit $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ α^- .
 12 The traces suit $\omega\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ [. Possibly Menander fr. 335. 1 (*Monost.* 861) $\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\rho\iota\varsigma\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$, $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$.
 13, 15 δ] $\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$.

3006. GNOMOLOGY

Plate IV

32 4B. 1/H (1-2) a

28 × 15 cm.

Third century

This piece contains two columns, full height but much damaged, from an anthology of iambic *gnomai*. The hand is a plain round one, with large pointed initial alphas. I should assign it to the third century rather than the second (notice the large β, and the long-tailed form of α with no bow). The back is blank.

All twenty-six lines begin with alpha. This collection was therefore more ambitious than 2661 and the papyrus reprinted in Jäkel's *Menandri Sententiae* Pap. XIV; and comparable with the medieval *Monostichoi*, from which we have the end of a third-century version in P1and. 77 (Pap. III Jäkel). At least twenty of our twenty-six lines recur in the *Monostichoi*, though only occasionally in the same order (6, 8-9, 11 = *Mon.* 4-7; 17-18 = *Mon.* 16, 18). Of five which certainly do not appear in the *Monostichoi*, four are unidentified; the other is ascribed by Stobaeus to 'Hippothoon' (l. 13 and note).

It was to be expected that such anthologies would draw largely on a common stock, without overlapping completely. Equally characteristic are variations within the tradition: 6 and 23 show substantial changes of wording; 26 agrees with Stobaeus against the *Monostichoi*; 3 and 11, and perhaps 2, preserve readings superior to those of the MSS.

For bibliography, see 3005 introduction.

The bracketed figures in the margin of the text refer to the *Monostichoi*.

Col. i

-]... μη[τ] α[κο]υε μηθ ορα (48)
]... α πολλα βλαπτονται βροτοις (17)
 απαν το] κερδος το αδικον τικτι βλαβην (8)
 ανθρωπος ω]ν μεμνησο της κοινης τυχης (10)
 5 αναπανσι]ς εστι τ[ω]ν κακων παντων υπνος (76)
 α.]... ξει του β[ιου] τα π[ρ]αγματα (4)
 ανδρ[ος τ]α προςπιπτοντα γ[εν]ναιως φερειν (15)
 αθανατον εχθραν μη φυλ[ας]ε θνητο[ς] ων (5)
 απαξ ακουσε τους ελευθερ[ο]υς κα[λ]ον (6)
 10 αρχοντι πιθου και δικαιως και αδικω[ς] (7)
 α ψεγομεν αυλου ταυτα μη μιμωμε[θ]α (7)
 ανδρων δικεων καρπος ου[κ] α[πο]λλυται (28)
 αριστον ανδρι [κ]τ[η]μα συνπαθη[ς] γυνη

Col. ii

- αδι[κον το] λυπιν [τους φίλους εκουσιως (11)
- 15 ανθρ[...].ο.....π.[
αγαθ[ον] μ[ε]γ[ι]στον η φ[ρ]ο[νησις] εστ αιι (14)
αγει το θε[ι]ον τους [κ]ακο[υς] προς την δικην (16, 80)
ανθρωπον οντα σεαυτον [αναμιμνησκ αιι (18)
ακυλλ[ο]γιστος εστιν η π[ονηρια (36)
- 20 αιι τ[...].[...].[...].ιωκε του β[ι]ου (3)
ανδρ[ων] δ[ικ]εων [ει]σι σωτηρες θεοι (22)
ανθρ[ω]πος ω[ν] γιγν[ω]σκε της ορ[γης] κρατειν (22)
ανδρ[...].[...].ρ[...].ν. [διαν... (25?)
απαντα κ[α]ιρω χα[ρι]ν εχι τρυγωμ[ε]να (9)
- 25 ανευ δ[...].[...].[...].ιβο. ουμαν. [
ανθρ[ω]πος α[ν]τυχων [ε]ωζε[ται] ν[ο]πο τ[ης] ελπιδος (30)

2]..α: second is flat top as of τ 6].: flat top as of τ].: upright, horizontal joining from left at two-thirds height (ligature? or just possibly ι with looped top) 15 ο,....: lower tip of left-hand arc (ε, c?); foot of upright, horizontal above; upright with horizontal joining from left; round letter, ο perh. c; round letter? something suprascript].: upright 23]ρ.: lower left arc of circle ν.: upright ..[: oblique tail as of α, λ; foot with right-pointing serif 25]ιβο.ο: oblique foot as of λ].: foot of long descender

1 Perhaps ἀ μὴ προσήκ<ε>ι, as in *Monost.* (and 2661 4). But the first trace, a low point of ink (above α in line 2), is left unexplained.

2 Perhaps ἀβουλί]α τὰ πολλά; the traces suit, but the supplement looks a little long. ἀβουλία γὰρ πολλά (*Monost.*) cannot be read.

3 L. τίκει. A new solution to an old problem: MSS. of *Monost.* have ἀπαν τὸ κέρδος ἄδικον φέρει (τίκει ζ) βλάβην; Jäkel prints ἄδικον <δν> (Meineke).

5 The same text in *Monost.* (except that MSS. of group Γ write ἀπραξία in place of ὕπνος); and (garbled) in the Greco-Coptic version, see *ZPE* 3 p. 26, 3–6 note. Jäkel prints the transposition ἀνάπανσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ τῶν πάντων κακῶν (Erbse).

6 In *Monost.* this line begins αὐτά σε διδάσκει. Here]ηξει or]εξει would be possible readings, but not]αξει.

9 L. ἀκοῦσαι.

10 L. πείθου. Unidentified.

11 αἴλου: the scribe intended ἄλλου (which cannot be read, for it leaves unexplained the rising stroke before λου). *Monost.* has ἡμεῖς; ἄλλου greatly improves the sharpness of the line.

12 L. δικαίων. *Monost.* has the singular ἀνδρὸς δικαίου.

13 'Euripides fr. 164' N. But the ascription to Euripides is dubious. Stobaeus, the only source, quotes the line under the heading 'Ἱπποθόωντος (iv 22a. 14); it can be attached to the preceding citation (from Euripides' *Antigone*) only by ignoring this heading. Observe that our line 4 = *Monost.* 10 appears at Stob. iii 22. 25 under 'Ἱπποθόου. Other fragments of 'Hippothoon/-os', *TGF*² p. 827 (B. Snell, *TrGF* i pp. 321 f.).

14 L. λυπεῖν.

15 Unidentified. The traces allow e.g. ἀνθρ[ωπο]ς ὄζεις .π.].

19 *Monost.* has ἀκυλλόγιστον, rightly. Cf. 3005 i 6–7 n.

20 *Monost.* has ἀεὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἐκδίωκε τοῦ βίου (ἀποδίωκε Stob.). Here τ[ο λυ]π could be read; but I am not sure that the other traces fit.

21 L. δ]ικαίων. Unidentified. It occurs to me that something similar may have stood in the gnostic text published in *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962) 114. The first lines of this slip read:

]ναπαντωνεισι
]εσθειφαυλων
]ητηρεσενβρχρονω

We might try: ἀγαθῶ]ν ἀπάντων εἰς [σωτῆρ]εσ θεοί, | φαύλων [δε . . .]ητηρεσ ἐν βρ<αχεῖ> χρόνῳ. But I can think of no supplement for the second line more plausible than λωβ]ητῆρεσ or δηλ]ητῆρεσ.

23 *Monost.* has: ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ (πανουργοῦ ο) φεῦγε συνοδίαν ἀεὶ (τὰς συναυλίας ο, τὴν συνουσίαν Γ). Here ἀνδρὸ[ς π]ον[η]ρο[ῦ] might be read, assuming that the letters were well spaced.]υ following has been crossed through, and one or possibly two letters (the first rounded) written over it. Perhaps φυγε was corrected to φευγε. Then write ἀνδρὸ[ς πονη]ρο[ῦ] φ[ε]υ[χ]ε[ι] <συνο>δίαν ἀ<ε>ί. (The alternative ἀνδρὸ[ς π]ον[η]ρο[ῦ] [ς]υ[ο]δίαν . . . does not explain the superscript.)

24 L. ἔχει.

25 Unidentified. *ZPE* 3 p. 27 ll. 25 f. ἀνευ δὲ πληγῆς οὐδὲ εἰς μανθάνει τὰ γράμματα (sic). But οὐ μανθ[άνει] here would be objectionable on two counts: θ[] does not suit the apparent trace of a long descender; and the letter before ου looks like λ (τρ]ιβόλου, περ]ιβόλου).

26 The papyrus agrees with Stobaeus against the MSS. of *Monost.* (ἀνὴρ ἀτυχῶν δὲ κῶζεται ταῖς ἐλπίσιν).

3007. ETHICAL QUESTIONS

Plate V

22 3B. 19/D (1-4) a

9.7 × 15.7 cm.

Second/third century

This text is written in an easy Severe Style on the back of a second-century register. The scribe was practised but hasty: itacism is common; iota adscript once rightly, three times wrongly. There are no lectional signs. i 2, 4, and 9 end with space-fillers.

The work is divided into sections by forked paragraphi: i 25, ii 9. In both cases, the new section began with a group of indented lines, three or more for the first, four for the second. These were presumably titles or headings.

The subject of i 1-24 is clear: the different treatment to be accorded to friends, according to the ease or acerbity of their temper. The point is illustrated with a pleasing apologue (which I have failed to parallel elsewhere) about a shopkeeper and the handling of his wares. The moralist (ἀξιῶ 12) addresses himself to a singular audience (ὦ ἑταῖρε 13).

We might guess that the whole work consisted of ethical προβλήματα, set out at length in the headings and then resolved by the moralist in discussion. Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* follow the same sort of pattern for the miscellaneous topics treated.

Col. i

↓ ογε.....[.....].τοτ[...]
 τε ουτως[.....].αι τοϋ
 χείρον[ος κερά]μου καὶ
 ἀτειμο[τ]έρου ἀπεκρεί-
 5 νατο ὁ κάπηλος ὅτι ἔφη
 [τ]ῶν μὲν ο[ι]νηρῶν κε-
 ραμίων καὶ εἰ πλείω συν-
 τριβείη μικρὰ βλάβη
 ἐστὶ τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τρεῖ-
 10 χου καὶ ἐν μόνον συντρι-
 βῇ ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας ἀ-
 πολούμεθα· ἀξιῶ τοίνυν
 καὶ σέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, παραπλη-
 ρύως μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς
 15 συνήθεις τοὺς σοὺς ὥσπερ
 ὁ κάπηλος τὸν κέραμον,
 καὶ τοῖς δυστρόποις αὐτῶν
 εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τοῖς ἐπι-
 εικέσι χρῆσθαι· οἱ μὲν
 20 γὰρ ἐπιεικέεις καὶ ἀμε-
 λούμενοι πράως ἔχουσιν
 ἄγαν καὶ βορβόρου κεκει-
 νημένου διαφέρουσιν
 οὐδέν.
 25 π[.....]τοπαθεῖν
 [.....]..ο..ετε
 [.....]

Col. ii

.....
 1 ..[
 στ[
 στ[
 5 ο[.
 γ[.
 τ[
 ε[.
 >[
 10 [
 [
 [
 λυ[
 αε[
 15 τη[
 λα[
 εν[
 δι[.
 αλλ[
 20 αυτ[
 .]...[

i 1[: upright; upright with cross-bar at middle height: indeterminate trace; upright followed by low point]: high curved top as of ε]: upright and cross-bar, γ or π?; back and top of round letter 2]: long horizontal joining top of α 5 l. ἔφη 7 l. πλείω 8 l. συντριβείη, μικρὰ, βλάβη 10 l. συντριβῇ 25 π[.: high curved top and trace of cross-bar, as of ε or ρ 26]: shaft and top (τ γ π ?); shaft and top (τ γ π ?)

‘... (when a neighbour asked him why he took such care in handling) the inferior and cheaper jars, the shopkeeper replied: “Because”, he said, “even if quite a number of the wine jars were smashed, there isn’t much damage done; but if even one of the jars of pickled fish gets smashed, we shall die

of the stench!" So I must ask you too, friend, to handle your acquaintances in much the same way that the shopkeeper handles the jars, and to treat the difficult ones more carefully than the amiable ones. The amiable ones take it easily, even if they are neglected, <whereas the difficult ones . . . rage> terribly and exactly resemble stirred-up mud.'

Col. i 1-2 Supplement e.g. ὡς δὲ] ὁ γὰρ ἔγωγε [αὐτὸν ἦρ]ετο τ[ί] πο|τε οὕτως[.].αι. We need a verb in line 2: at the beginning οὕτως[or οὕτω c[(given the general standard of orthography, οὕτως would not necessarily entail a following vowel); at the end probably]ται (the trace does not suit]σαι). E.g. [ἐπιμέλε]ται.

21-2 Prof. E. G. Turner suggests that the scribe has omitted a clause: we need something to balance οἱ μὲν, and in any case the muddy image hardly flatters the amiable friends. E.g. <οἱ δὲ δύσκολοι . . . ἀγνωμόνως ἔχουσιν> ἄγαν κτλ.

25 πε[ρί or πε[ρός would suit the trace. At the end,] τὸ παθεῖν or]το παθεῖν; or even πρω]τοπαθεῖν (the use of this verb extends beyond the medical writers cited in LSJ: see Lampe, PGL s.v.).

3008. PROSE ABOUT DUALISM

19 2B.76/F (6-7) b

8 × 16.6 cm.

Plate VI
Third century

The lower part of a column, with a margin of 5.5 cm. at the foot. The hand is a fine mature Severe Style; the scribe writes occasional middle stops, and in 2 a supra-script bar for ν. The back is blank.

The author is clearly combating a view which supposes a δυνάς in respect of each *σῶμα*; and argues that, since the terms of each dyad cannot be distinguished by sense-perception, they cannot be distinguished at all. Such a dyad (15 ff.) is *αὐτὸς Πλάτων* and *ἡ Πλάτωνος οὐσία*. It may be that the view attacked regarded both these as *σώματα* (but this depends on the reading and interpretation of line 7).

This is a peculiar doctrine. I had at first taken the piece to be a direct assault on the notion of *οὐσία*: what is the point in distinguishing Plato from Plato's *οὐσία*, when the senses see only the one body with its set of outward qualities? But if both parts of the dyad are *σώματα*, something more subtle is implied. Prof. A. H. Armstrong has been kind enough to give his view. He thinks that the author is attacking a doctrine (Stoic or Stoic-influenced) according to which the 'substance' of an individual body is itself a distinct bodily entity; but he finds no closer parallel than the position maintained by Tertullian (*de Anima* 9) that the soul is a corporeal substance as well as the body, and accordingly has shape and dimensions.

Even the larger context is hard to discern. The only clue is the use of *Πλάτων* as an exemplary name, 'someone'. The Aristotelian commentators use it so; but (in Alexander of Aphrodisias at least) almost always paired with Socrates. Sextus Empiricus has 'Plato' alone, and very commonly. But our text comes from no extant work of Sextus.¹

¹ Since this was written, Mr. David Hughes has transcribed what is quite probably another fragment of the same work. The author says, in outline: 'Philosophers agree about nothing—one of them even says that silver is black. You can hear more uproar from a houseful of philosophers than from a houseful of madmen.' The tone is clearly satirical. If 3008 comes from the same hand, we need not expect any great subtleties of doctrine.

-].□.....αμ.....[.].[.
 καιδειναι τῆς περὶ ἑκάστο(ν)
 λεγομένης τῶν σωμάτων
 δυάδος ἀδιάγνωστον αἰσθή-
 5 ςει τὴν δ[ι]αφορὰν ἐχούσης·
 εἰ γὰρ ὥμα μὲν ἰδίως ποι-
 ὸν οἶον Πλάτων σωμα...
 οὐσία τοῦ Πλάτωνος, διαφορὰ
 δὲ φαινόμενη τούτων οὐκ ἔ-
 10 ςτιν οὔτε σχήματος οὔτε
 χρώματος οὔτε μεγέθους οὔ<τε>
 μορφῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρος ἴσον
 καὶ τ[ύ]πος ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέ-
 ρων, τίνι διαιροῦντες ὄρω
 15 κ[αὶ] χαρακτῆρι νῦν μὲν
 φήσομεν αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος
 νῦν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀντιλαμ-
 βάνεσθαι τῆς Πλάτωνος;
 εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστίν τις διαφο-
 20 ρά, λεγέσθω μετὰ ἀποδεί-
 ξεω]ς· εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ λέγειν

1][: low point, then foot of oblique joining vertical (ν ?)]...: oblique foot as of λ; foot of vertical; lower arc as of ο; descender as of τ ..[: oblique foot; long descender as of ρ][: long descender as of ρ 2 *εκάστο* 6 *ἰδίως* 12 *ἴσον* 15 *νυν μὲν* 18 *πλατωνος* 21 space (punctuation) before *εἰ*

‘... of the dyad which is mentioned in connection with each of the bodies, a dyad which possesses a differentiation indiscernible by the senses. For if a body is properly something like (?) Plato, but the essence of Plato is a body (?), and there is no apparent difference between them either in form or in colour or in size or in shape, indeed the weight is equal and the outline the same in both, by what definition and characteristic shall we distinguish and say that we are apprehending now Plato himself, now the essence of Plato? If there is some means of differentiation, let it be stated together with a proof! If on the other hand (it is not possible) even to state it...’

7 The reading at the end of the line causes great difficulty. Given the contrast drawn in 15–18, we might expect *Πλάτων* and *Πλάτωνος οὐσία* to be opposed to one another: *ὥμα μὲν* ought then to be answered by *ὥμα δέ*. But the reading *ὥμα δ’ ἡ* is impossible: δ would be anomalous, and a horizontal connecting with the putative η remains unexplained. Palaeographically, the first trace might be a lop-sided ο; then a long horizontal with perhaps a trace of vertical projecting just above it; then a vertical. This all suggests *ὅτι*. But what is the sense? ‘If a body has particular qualities, as Plato is a body, because it is the essence of Plato...?’ And what then is the antecedent of *τούτων* in line 9?

3009. *Epistula Philippi* (DEMOSTHENES XVIII 221)

Plate VI

26 3B.47/J (6-7) a

8 × 14.5 cm.

Second century

The top of one column from a bookroll; the back is blank. The hand is a heavy four-square one, ornamented with oblique and horizontal serifs; α has a horizontal cross-bar, β comes well below the line, ϕ is very large. The general appearance recalls, e.g., PSI 1213 (Eupolis *Prospaltioi*); compare other examples of 'Roman Uncial' discussed by Cavallo, *Ann. Scul. Norm. Sup. di Pisa*, 1967, pp. 209 ff. A date in the second century seems likely.

Demosthenes, in *de Corona* § 221, instructs the court clerk to read out 'letters of Philip' (letters, that is, which Philip had sent to the Peloponnesians, see § 218). In the manuscripts there follows a note *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ*, but the texts are not quoted.

In 1942 Larsen published a much-damaged piece from a roll of *de Corona* (PHaun. 5). This inserts between § 221 and § 222 complete copies of two letters: one (col. iv 11 ff.) to the *boule* and *demos* of Athens; the other (iv 32-v 15) to the *strategoi* and of Boeotia.

3009 contains the text of a letter, no doubt from Philip, to the *demiourgoi* and *synedroi* of the Peloponnesians. The wording after the prescript is apparently identical with that of the Boeotian letter in PHaun. This is a fact of some interest for the textual history of the Demosthenic 'documents'. 1377 shows that one such document (the letter to the Thebans, § 167) was already in the text in the late first century B.C. PHaun. 5 shows that some texts included documents which the medieval MSS. do not preserve. 3009 now shows that such documents might exist in variant forms: the Boeotian and the Peloponnesian versions differ only in minor details; they can hardly have been designed for different places in the speech, for only here is the raising of troops relevant. Either then they were to coexist after § 221, in which case PHaun. 5 has omitted the Peloponnesian version; or they are alternatives. It is certainly true that in the context of § 218 Peloponnesians have an expected place, and Boeotians have not. Perhaps different recensions of the forgeries circulated, just as different selections from them appeared in different texts of the speech (PAnt. 27, introduction).

PHaun. 5 is in poor condition; more of it can now be read with the help of 3009. A photograph of col. iv appears in PHaun. as plate 1; Prof. T. Larsen has been kind enough to send me a photograph of col. v, and to check some points on the original.

- ποννησι[ων τοις δη
 μιουργοι[ς] και [τοις
 συνεδροι[ς] χα[ιρειν
 και προ]τε[ρ]ον [.]. . .
 5 ε]γραφει πα[ρ]ι
 τιωτων οπω
 ξ ν . τ
 ταχιστην και νυ[ν υ
 μιν περι των αυτων
 10 επεστειλα γραψω
 δε κα[ι] προς Μεσση
 νιους ὑπερ των επι
 κηρυκειων και των
 αλλων των κοινη
 15 συμφεροντων η
 νικ αν προσδεξω
 μαι τας παρα των Α
 θηναιων αποκρι
 σεις βουλομαι [γ]αρ και
 20 την εκεινω[ν γν]ω
 μην προσλ[αβει]ν

7 ξ . . . : possibly a narrow upright letter before this; after ξ perhaps an upright (ι), or traces may be part of ξ, then ο or possibly c; c or ο . . . : upright ν . : left-hand arc, as of c? τ . . : first upright, then oblique apex as of α 8 νυ[ν] : of ν only the left prong

‘. . . to the demiurgi and synedri of the Peloponnesians, greetings. I have written . . . before about the soldiers, so that . . . fastest . . . ; and now I have sent you a message about the same matters. And I shall write to the Messenians too about the peace negotiations and the other matters of common interest, once I receive the replies of the Athenians. For I want to have their opinion too . . .’

1-3 Cf. ‘Dem.’ 18. 157 βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. The beginning of the prescript (as far as πελο) will have occupied the last two lines of the preceding column.

4 προ]τε[ρ]ον : προτερην PHaun. For what follows ὑμῖν is an obvious guess, but not one particularly suited to the traces of PHaun. (3009 has only indeterminate remains of ink.)

5 f. πα[ρ]ι τιωτων :]ριπων στρατηγο[in the printed text of PHaun. This points to a combined text περὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Palaeographically, πα[ρ]ι των . . . στρατιωτων is acceptable in 3009; ετ can be read only on the supposition that some of the ink is stray. In PHaun., Prof. Larsen still considers στρατη- more likely than στρατι- and so certainly it looks in the photograph.

6-8 Presumably ὅπως ἂν - - - τὴν ταχίστην. In 7 the traces allow e.g. ε]ξ ἱερὸν[τ]ῆν ετρατ-. But this

will not provide a verb. (And]ται seems not to be a possible reading of],ν.) Alternatively we might look for a noun in -ξικ.

8 και γυ[ν υ]μιν: I should expect καὶ νῦν δέ. But this would make a long line; and PHaun. seems to have και νυν υ[

12 f. επικηρυκειων: υπο- PHaun., not an attested word and presumably simple error.

15 ff. PHaun. has η]νικ αν δε | δεξομαι, where -ομαι is corrupt for -ωμαι, and δε spoils the grammar (perhaps therefore a dittography).

20 f. PHaun. is read καὶ τὴν ἐκείνω[ν .]... κλαβεῖν γνωμην. The photograph would allow εκεινω[ν] πρωςλαβειν, to accord with προσλ[...]ν of 3009.

A very tentative reconstruction of the text PHaun. 5 iv 35 ff.:

και προτεραν .[... εγραψα πε]³⁶ρι των στρατιω[των c. 10] (col. v 1) .[...].[c. 18]² και νυν υ[μιν περι των αυ]³ [των επεστειλα γρα]ψω δε [και π]ρος⁴ Μεσσηνι[ους υπερ τ]ων υποκηρυ⁵κειων κ[αι των α]λλων των κο[ι]νη συμφ[ε]ροντων] ηνικ αν {δε}⁷ δεξομαι .[... π]αρα των Αθηναι⁸ων αποκρι[εις βουλ]ομαι γαρ⁹ και την εκεινω[ν] πρωςλαβειν¹⁰ γνωμην [ι]να κοι[νω] δογματ[ι] την ειρηνην μ...[...],ων ποιωμαι προς τας αλλας προλεις καθως αι συνθηκαι ...[...],ουσιν.

3010. NARRATIVE ABOUT IOLAUS

29 4B.46/K (1) a

13.2 × 23.5 cm.

Plate I
Second century

This curious piece consists of a single block of writing, complete on three sides but damaged at the right. The beginning and end of the text are written in double column; the middle, lines 14–33, makes a single column running the full width of the sheet. The back is blank.

The writing is a careful round book-hand, of the type of the great London *Hyperides* (Roberts, *GLH* 13b) but plentifully ornamented with horizontal serifs. Compare e.g. 2441, 2469 and introduction. It is likely to belong to the earlier second century.

There is no punctuation, except paragraphi; the quotation in 39 ff. is set off by a short blank. Final *nu* is twice written as a horizontal bar (3, 7). Line 2 ends with a space-filler.

The strange format is dictated by the content. Lines 1–13 are narrative, set out in two columns which read consecutively. 14–33 contain a speech in verse, whose long lines need more width. In 34 the narrative begins again in narrow column. The sense shows that at least one complete column has been lost to the left.

The bare outline of the narrative is clear. Some person, X, is being initiated into the mysteries of Cybele (1–9), and perfects himself in them in reliance on his friend Nicon (37–9). X then addresses Iolaus and a *cinaedus* (14); this speech is (appropriately) in the Sotadean metre. X says that he has become a *gallus* in order to help Iolaus; he knows everything; Iolaus must trust him (31). And Iolaus accordingly undergoes instruction from him (34–6).

The *galli* are normally figures of fun: we should not expect this to be a dignified composition. And in fact the speech exhibits notable vulgarisms of language: ἐὺγενῆ

(14) and κρύβε (31) are unliterary, βινεῖν (30) coarse, the scansion (‘I)ῶλᾶε unparalleled. The narrative parts, so far as they survive, are unexceptionable; the remarkable feature is the unmediated quotation in 39 ff. These oddities, and the detailed interpretation of the text, are discussed in *BICS* 18 (1971), pp. 53 ff.¹ It is there suggested that 3010 represents a tradition of Greek comic novel, on which Petronius drew for the *Satyricon*.

¹ Professor E. R. Dodds has since suggested a most ingenious and convincing reconstruction of the plot. He writes: ‘According to me, the keyword is δόλω βινεῖν (30), contrasted with ἄδολον (26). The story concerned a young man called Iolaus who tried to gain access to his beloved by pretending to be an eunuch. For this purpose he induced his friend X to study under a *gallus* (1) and transmit to him the mystic knowledge so acquired (3, read δι’ ὧν?), lest he should fall foul of a fellow *mystes* (4) by getting the technicalities wrong. In the sotadeans X reports to Iolaus some specimens of the jargon he has learned (hence the odd mixture of religious and vulgar language). This would account for some puzzling words. τῇν συνήθειαν (20) would be ‘their way of talking’. νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν] (21) would be a sardonic description of a real *gallus*, ‘a walking corpse’. τὸν νόθον (22) would not be an illegitimate but a sham *gallus* (cf. Catullus 63. 27 *notha mulier*). And Iolaus’ father would have something to lament (25)—his son’s becoming a *kinaidos*. Finally, the *double entendre* of τέλειος γάλλος (37) would have a much sharper point.’ This reconstruction finds further support in Terence’s *Eunuchus*, where Chaerea adopts much the same stratagem.

→	...ρ...ωνυποτουγαλ λουνονομαζομενων μανθανειδιονδιδασκῖ εμελλενιναμητεπαρα 5 πεσητωσυμμυστητε λεσθεντιδεπολλαχως 7 <u>και</u> ιδιδαχθεντιθηλυκῇ 14 ευγενηιολαε αιρεκαικιναιδεσιωπη μυστικοςλογ...[...].ισπαρ[[α]]ηγορη[γαλλοςγεγον[...].λα.δια... νεικωνμαν[...].αδιασεναπο.[ιναγαλλονεχ[...].νειδοταπαντα[οιδαδεσυτισι.[...].πανταδοιδ. 20 τηνσυνηθεια[...].ηντονορκο.[νε.[...].ναταφ.[...].πειστινοςπ[τοννοθονο.[...].νπαιγεγον[ζμειλεινθεμ[...].ολυγμονκα.[οικιαντεςηνμ[...].ερακο...ωνασονοιδα[25 θρηνουςπατροσθηρυκλειανοτισυνοιδ[νεικωναδολονκιναιδον.αιταγενες[].ιδακλησινκαικ. ναιδονσκω[].ωσπεπαιχε...ωσπεφευγ.[]αναλυσινφασινκαποκοπη.[30]οτιδολωσυβεινινμ.λλει.[]ωστεμηδεενμεκρυβεπι...[]καιτοσονθελωιολαε...[]γνωσθηδοχρονοςγαρμε[...].ος[]καιομενιολαοσυπο...[35].ουμυστικουδιδασκε...[].αιοσαπερμεμαθωκι...[].δετελειοςεστινγαλλος...[].ωφιλωπεποιθωσναι...[].ωνι ουκεστινουδεν...[40].[...].ςονηφι...ςαφη...[...].ουτοσο[...].εχρ[...] ...].στονδ...[...] ...].ταλλαγμ[...]	φορειν[νονκληρω[χησδ...λ.ρ[επηλθεπρο.[κα.κατατυχ.[αυτ.νευρω.[13 45 50
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1 ...ρ: foot with serif, foot with right hook; lower arc of θ or ο; foot below line-level ...ω:
 foot with serif, foot with serif; foot with serif below horizontal at line-height 10 δ...: ε or θ;
 foot with serif, foot with right hook λ...: foot with serif, foot curving to the right 11 [: back
 of ε θ ο c ω 12 κα...: upright [: serifed upright 13 τ...: low point of ink, high point
 of ink [: upright 14 α...: λ or χ 15 ...[: top curve of ε θ ο c; tip of upright].....:
 top of upright; high point; top of small curve (ρ?); left end of high horizontal; top curve as of ε or c;
 high horizontal with medial junction (as of τ), end joins another upright?; left end of high horizontal;
 high oblique, as of κ; top curve of ε θ ο c 16]...: foot with serif; lower curve of θ or ο δ:
 lower curve of ε θ ο c δα...: ε or c; ε or θ; high point 17 [: high point 18 [: serifed
 upright 19 [: low oblique as of λ δ...: oblique top (α δ λ) 20 [: serifed upright 21 [:
 serifed upright [: back curve of ε θ ο c 22 [: ε or θ 23 [: high-point 24 κρ...: foot with
 serif; foot with serif 26 α...: high oblique as of κ 27]...: part of right hand curve κ...: high
 point 28]...: foot with serif, foot with right hook ε...: low point; right angle as of γ or π [:
 back curve of ε θ ο c 30 μ...: tips of middle and high horizontals [: back curve of ε θ ο c ω
 31 ...[: ο or c; upright with serifed foot 32 ε...: upright with serifed foot; foot curving strongly
 to right; serifed upright with high horizontal (π or τ); curving foot or lower curve? serifed foot?
 trace of upright or curve; oblique foot as of λ or part of curve 34 ο...: probably a space-filler
 as in 2 35]...: high horizontal 36]...: right end of cross-bar, as of τ 40 φ...: top of
 δ or λ; upper curve of ε θ ο c 41]...: sloping back as of α λ μ 42 [: back curve of ε θ ο c
 43]...: parts of upright 44 [: back curve of ε θ ο c ω 47 [: lower curve of ε θ ο c ω
 50 [: apparently the left half of δ, with the apex continued into a closed loop

'... secrets being named (what were called 'secrets'?) by the *gallus* ... he learns, through whom he was going to teach, so that he should neither fail (?) his fellow initiate but, once he had been initiated in many ways and taught to wear female (garb), ... there should be allotted to him (?) ... And being full of teaching, he came to Iolaus, and finding him by chance ... , said:

"Noble Iolaus, greetings; and you, *cinaedus*, silence! I, the mystic, will exhort (you) in ... words (?). I have become a *gallus* ... , Iolaus, for your sake; Nikon (taught me?) ... , so that you might have a *gallus* (to help you?) who knows all. I know who (what?) you ... I know all, the custom (love-affair?) ... the oath, the unburied corpse (?) ... the bastard ... all ... the cry of the women ... and your house, mother, your bedroom; I know the laments of the father, Eurycleia (?) (and) that she is aware (?) ... *cinaedus*, and the birthday (?) ... I know the call (invocation, invitation) and the *cinaedus* jesting (?) ... how he joked how he fled ... resolution, utterance, cutting off ... that you are going to screw by stealth ... so conceal nothing from me ... and I want, Iolaus, your (?) ... And you will realize, for time intervening ..."

And Iolaus is taught by the mystic all the things he had learned, and he (the mystic) is a perfect *gallus*, having trusted in his friend Nikon. "There is nothing better than a clear friend—not wealth nor gold; the mob is an inconsiderable substitute for a true-hearted friend ..."

1 πορρητων: ρητων is virtually certain, the rest very likely. Restore α]πορρητων: mystic 'secrets' suit the context.

3 δι' δν: the reading of the letters is certain; and other possible articulations (μάνθανε ἴδιον, μανθάνει διόν) seem to have no future. δι' δν διδάσκει(ν) ἔμελλεν should mean 'the man through whom he (himself) would come to teach', i.e. his teacher; this fits the context, in so far that the subject undergoes instruction here (7, 10) and gives it later (35 f.). δν might refer to a noun earlier in the sentence; or μανθάνει might govern it directly.

4 f. παραπέση: the verb can mean 'go astray', 'err': π. τῇ διανοίᾳ (Vett. Val. p. 73. 25 Kroll), πολὺ τι παρέπεσε τοῦ καθήκοντος (Polyb. 8. 11 (13). 8); in Christian authors it is a technical term for 'fall into sin' or 'lapse'. All examples I have seen use the verb absolutely; or construct it with a dative of that in which one errs, or a genitive of that from which one strays. Here apparently a personal dative. Is the meaning 'fail' or 'fall behind'?

5 ff. On the assumption that 8–13 were of about the same length as the lines of the first column, i.e. 15 to 19 letters, the general sense might be reconstructed thus: τελεσθέντι δὲ πολλαχῶς καὶ διδαχθέντι θηλυκῇ(ν) φορεῖν [ἐς θῆτα]νον κληρω[θῆ διδα]χῆς δὲ πλήρ[ης γεγονῶς] ἐπῆλθε πρὸς [τὸν Ἰόλαον] καὶ κατὰ τύχην[ν] αὐτὸν εὐρῶν[ν]

7 f. Female dress is a familiar trait of the *galli*: H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* 298. Supplement e.g. [ἐκθηῆτα or [στολήν.

9 E.g. κληρω[θηῆ, to govern the datives in 5–7. But I have no idea what is supposed to fall to the lot of the full initiate.

9–10 διδα[χῆς suits the context; then δὲ πλήρ[ης, δὲ πληρ[ωθεῖς; or δ' ἐπληρ[ώθη.

12 κατὰ τύχην: the final trace is of an upright, serifed at head and foot (not e.g. κατατυχών).

13 αὐτὸν εὐρών [is likely. (Correct the statement in *BICS* 1971 p. 56: single points of ink remain from the top and left arcs of omicron.) At the end restore a verb to introduce the speech which follows.

14–33 The metre is Sotadean. The basic scheme:

— ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — —

A *longum* may be resolved; the *brevia* may be contracted. (The book fragments are analysed by F. Podhorsky, *De Versu Sotadeo*, Diss. Vind. 1895; Guéraud, *BSAA* 31 (1937) 180 ff. discusses two important later inscriptions. There is a summary of results in W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque* 207–9.)

All lines which are certainly read conform to this scheme; none requires the additional licence of an 'irrational long' (— ◡ — for — ◡ — ◡, — — ◡ for — — ◡ ◡). Lines 14 and 32 are not exceptions: scan Ἰόλαε as three syllables with initial consonant, and εἰωπη as a spondee. Line 25 is probably corrupt; in 16 and 17 the ends are uncertain.

14 εὐγενῆ: the late form of the vocative, known from papyrus documents: e.g. 2407 3 εὐγενῆ (proceedings of public meeting, late third century). It is common in proper names, see Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 87 ff.

Ἰόλαε: both here and in 32 we can save the metre and remove the hiatus by assuming the prosody γόλαε. But this is itself anomalous. For c(ι)ωπη there are parallels in the documents: spellings in which prevocalic iota within a word drops out are found occasionally in the Ptolemaic period (Mayser-Schmoll 126) and more commonly in the Roman period. But for the reduction of initial iota I find only fourth-century evidence: (1) Synesius has Ἰησοῦς as a spondee, and other Semitic names are treated similarly by other Christian writers; (2) οὐτὸς ἰῶτα γράφει begins a hexameter in Terentianus Maurus (*Gr. Lat.* vi 340. 501 ff.; similarly Ausonius, *Tech.* 13. 7). And in these the second vowel is long.

κίναιδε: cf. 26–7. Cinaedi existed as professional dancers (2575 3–4 note); Pliny, *Ep.* 9. 17. 1 joins *scurrae*, *cinaedi*, *moriones*. But the name is often interchangeable with *galli*: e.g. Suet. *Oct.* 68, Martial 9. 2. 13, Apul. *Met.* 8. 26 ff.

εἰωπη: nominative or dative; the η is certain, though its cross-bar is damaged; and there is no ink after it. I have no parallel for the grammar, if it means 'silence!' But the sense is suitable: the *cinaedus* is to observe εὐφημία for the mystic utterance which follows. Alternatively, we could attach εἰωπη to the next line. But there is no obvious gain.

The prosody is c(ι)ωπη, not cγωπη; the preceding vowel is not lengthened. A vulgarism (see above on Ἰόλαε), not an imitation of Callimachus or his models (fr. 191. 31 and Pfeiffer's note).

15 I assume that παρηγορη[is a word by itself; to judge from the metre it lacks either one or three syllables at the end; since the line is already a long one, the former is much more likely. The outline then is:

— ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — —
 μυστικός λογ...[.....]ς παρηγορη[.

The rest depends on the reading before παρηγορη[. εἰς, θῖς, ρῖς and εἰς are all possible; before that what looks most like the top right tip of κ, or just possibly υ (it is not steep enough for χ). The most likely combination with the traces preceding, given that the metre requires an iambus, is perhaps -ετῖμοις. (The trace after τ is a ligature, as in 7 -θεντι.)

λογ is nearly certain. Then the top of a circular letter, i.e. in the context ε or ο. λόγος suggests itself, but the short high trace doesn't favour c; the spacing is against λόγου; λόγον, λόγοι, λόγοι[ς all possible.

We might combine possibilities, as e.g.

— ◡ —
 μυστικός λόγοι[ς] ...ετῖμοις παρηγορη[ςω.

I have not found a reading for the letters before -ετικις, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess: possibly λόγοι[ε] μυστικῶς. παρηγορη[- allows a wide range of tenses, moods, and persons.

16-23 A rectangular piece of papyrus is lost from the middle of these lines: the gap is of c. 10 letters, 4 to 6 syllables.

16 γεγον[: -[α, -[εν, -[ωσ. At the end, perhaps 'Ιόλαε διὰ σέ. 'I (or 'he', if the speaker affects the third person) have become a *gallus* for your sake, Iolaus.' But the single trace following might belong to a projecting cross-bar of ε; and after that the papyrus seems to be blank. If then this is the line-end,
 ∪ ∪ ∪

διὰ σέ is most unwelcome.

17 Νείκων μαν[: I assume that Nikon here and in 26 is a proper name, as in 38; though ν(ε)ικῶν is equally possible in itself. Nikon made the speaker a perfect *gallus* (37-9), in which capacity he instructs Iolaus. Here perhaps Νείκων μ' αν[- - - ¹⁸ ἵνα γάλλον ἔχη[ε ∪ ∪ ∪ -]]νειδότα πάντα

]αδιασεναπο[: I can think of no convincing articulation. διὰ σέν introduces a vulgar form of the pronoun, known from documentary papyri of the second century and later.

19 - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -

οἶδα δὲ σὺ τίς[] πάντα δ' οἶδα.

σὺ seems inescapable; presumably it stands outside an interrogative clause to which it belongs. Then τις ι.[or τίς ι.[; the final trace is most like λ (δ would show more of its base-stroke).

20 - ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - -

τὴν συνήθεια[ν] τὸν ὄρκον. Mr. Peter Brown points to an instructive parallel, Men. *Samia* 624 f. ὄρκος, πόθος, | χρόνος, συνήθει', οἷς ἐδουλούμην ἐγώ. This commends the meaning 'love-affair' for συνήθεια here.

21 νε[: νει[is the obvious interpretation of the remains (Νεί[κω]ν, Νεί[κω]να, etc.). But I think νεκ[possible: νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν]?

]πεις: plural of]πευς? or a verb? or]π' εἰς? If νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν] is right at the beginning, the line will be a long one: end π[∪ - -

22 Perhaps - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - -

τὸν νόθον νο[] πᾶν γεγον[

νο[: either νοε[or νοθ[again.

23 ζμειλειν : I cannot read any other letters. Mr. C. H. Roberts and Prof. R. Merkelbach have
 ∪ ∪ - -

suggested that this is a corruption of σμίλην. At the end probably κα[.

24 τε σὴν : rather than τόσην, unless the vestigial cross-bar of ε is delusory. The line is disjointed, though metrically perfect. But μ[ητ]έρα is the only doubtful part, and I don't see how to avoid the supplement.

25 θηρυκλειαν : this might be a misspelling of θηρικλείαν. But Mr. M. D. Reeve and Dr. M. L. West have suggested that the corruption is more serious; the writer intended Εὐρύκλειαν. This emendation has two advantages: (1) θρήνους πατρὸς will scan - - ∪ ∪, a normal metron; the form - - ∪ -, with 'irrational' long, does not occur elsewhere in the piece; (2) the name might provide a subject for συνοιδ[.

At the end [∪ - -.

26 Multiple ambiguities. Νείκων(-) or νεικῶν (see on 17); Νείκων ἄδολον, Νείκων' ἄδολον, Νείκωνα

- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - -

δόλον. End perhaps καὶ τὰ γενέσ[ι' .

27 End σκω[∪ ∪ ∪ - -. σκώπτειν seems the most likely connection.

28 End [- ∪ ∪ ∪ - -.

29 End [∪ ∪ ∪ - -. A verb here must govern 30: οἶδα? The final trace looks like μ[; but the noun ἀποκόπημα is not attested (the verb ἀποκοπέομαι once in Hesychius), and ἀποκοπή or -ῆ fits awkwardly in the list of accusatives. Perhaps ἀποκοπή[μ]ν [can be read.

30 End [- ∪ ∪ ∪ - -.

31 Either μηδὲ ἔν scans as a spondee; or κρύβε scans as a trochee; or ἔν με κρύβε πιςτ[makes - ∪ ∪ ∪ - with 'irrational' long.

32 τοςον : τὸ σὸν rather than τόσον. After 'Ιόλαε apparently ις (if the two elements belonged together in η or π, one would expect the cross-bar to show). ιςτρε[ιν consists with the traces, but the hiatus is odd.

33 Perhaps μέ[ς]ος: 'you will realize it; for time intervening . . .' End: [-οοοο --].

36 μεμαθώκι: for ἐμεμαθήκει? The omitted augment is not surprising in late Greek. But μαθόω is nowhere attested.

37 δ] δέ: the space allows only one letter. If the supplement is correct, Iolaus was taught by X (the speaker in 14 ff.); and X is a perfect *gallus*, thanks to his friend Nikon.

39-44 Euripides, *Or.* 1155-7, except that οὐδὲ χρυόος (41) replaces οὐ τυραννίς of all MSS.

3011. NARRATIVE ABOUT AMENOPHIS

Plate V

No inventory number

13 × 17.5 cm.

Third century

The front of this piece contains the upper part of a column of accounts, written in a rapid third-century cursive; the items include ναῦλ(ον) ξύλ(ων) κυκαμ(ίνων). The back has been reused, upside down, for 3011: the lower part of a column, more or less complete, with a left margin of 2.2 cm. and a right margin of 4.5 cm. The hand of this verso text is an inept one of literary pretensions, written with a thick blunt pen; it has some likeness to Roberts, *GLH* 23b (A.D. 260-70). The scribe's clumsiness, together with rubbing and heavy stains at top and foot, make the reading often very dubious.

The greater part of what survives is a speech, addressed to the speaker's 'brother'. At line 21 the narrative resumes: 'And Amenophis, hearing this, rejoiced greatly.' This sounds like the end of an episode; to judge from the width of the right margin, it was also the end of the roll.

The name Amenophis is the only clue to the content of the piece (I assume that this is the name intended, however it may have been spelt, see 21 note). There are two obvious candidates. (1) Amenhotep son of Hapu: historically, a high official under Amenhotep III; by the Ptolemaic period he had divine status, and was credited with a book of wise sayings; as sage and prophet he appears in Manetho's Jewish story (below). See H.-W. Helck, *Einfluss d. Militärführer* 2-3; Manetho, ed. W. G. Waddell (Loeb), pp. 122 f. (2) King Amenophis is the monarch addressed in the Oracle of the Potter (*ZPE* 2 (1968) 208); a King Amenophis was identified with Memnon (Manetho fr. 52 Waddell, *FGH* 609 F 2 p. 38); a King Amenophis appears with the son of Hapu in the Jewish story. The one name could apply to three or more distinct historical kings; it is not clear whether the literary tradition bothered to distinguish.

The sage and the king figure together in Manetho's account of the Hyksos (fr. 54 Waddell, *FGH* 609 F 10). King Amenophis desired to see the gods. The wise prophet Amenophis son of Paapis advised him to purge his country of lepers and other unclean persons. The king accordingly transported them all to work in the quarries. The seer Amenophis feared divine vengeance for this outrage and committed suicide, leaving a written prophecy of disaster. The quarry-slaves were eventually assigned Avaris as a home. They chose a priest of Heliopolis, Osarseph, as leader. He promulgated a law forbidding them to worship in the Egyptian fashion. He invited in the

'Shepherds' from Jerusalem. King Amenophis crossed the Nile to oppose them; but, *μὴ δεῖν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας*, retreated again to Memphis, and then with all his army to Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Jerusalemites ruled Egypt most savagely; and Osarseph changed his name to Moses. After thirteen years Amenophis returned and expelled the 'Shepherds'.

3011 might fit the retreat to Memphis. But the connection is tenuous. And nothing in the papyrus narrative proves translation or derivation from an Egyptian source. Egyptian romance did circulate in Greek translation: we have both Demotic and Greek texts for the story of Tefnut (S. West, *JEA* 55 (1969) 161 ff.); see further Barns, *Akten d. VIII. int. Kongr. f. Papyrologie* (Wien 1955) 29. But there was nothing to stop Greek writers constructing free fantasy around Egyptian figures: the story of Sesenchosis (1826, 2466) is perhaps an example.

↓
 ...]ουω[...].[...].....
 ...]...ο.τη...μεμφε[
 ...]αυτηδε εχει ημε[
 ...]ντ.ων πορον το
 5 δε] πλατος της οδου
 εσ]τιν πηχων δυο
 το δε υδωρ εστιν με-
 χρι των γονατων
 λ]οιπον ουν αδελφε
 10 ανδραγαθησον επι-
 θου με και διαπερα-
 σον την θαλας<ς>αν
 παντα ευθεως ελ-
 θ[] . γ ως αν κοι λεγω
 15 ταυτη δε τη οδω ο με-
 γας θεος Ερμης και
 η μυριωνυμος θεα
 Εισιν πλανωμενη
 ε...[]....[]...]χη ζητου
 20 ςα τον β[ασι]λεα των
 θεων .[...]. ο δε Αμε
 νγ.φ... [τα]υτα ακου-
 σας μεγαλ[ωσ] εχαρη

1] .[: upright below two patches of ink (e.g. τ, ν)] : second is circular, then top of upright (e.g. ρι or ω); then ε or perh. ο; then ε or θ; then foot of upright (-εει?) 2] . . : lower part of upright; then ε with high bar, or ρ with double serif ο, : left-hand arc (c?) τη . . : curved foot as of μ; then another foot 4] ντ, : ι or ρ 14] ., short upright 19 ε . . : upright, then upright with top horizontal joining from left (together = π?) : third is top of upright; then left-hand arc (e.g. ο, or loop of α) 22 φ . . . : first perhaps lower left quadrant and cross-bar; last is top of upright

“... towards Memphis; and this road involves a journey of three days (??). The width of the road is two cubits, and the water is up to the knees. Therefore be a man, brother, put me on (your shoulders) and traverse the sea, in all things advancing at once as I tell you (?). It was by this road that the great god Hermes and the thousand-named goddess Isis, wandering . . . seeking the king (?) of the gods, Osiris (?) . . .” And Amennophis(?), hearing this, rejoiced greatly.’

2] πρὸς τῇμ Μεμφε[looks a good guess. But Μέμφε[ι]ν makes a long line; and Μέμφε[ι]ν an awkward division. Rea suggests Μέμφε[ι]δα].

3-4 Turner's reconstruction gives good sense: (ὁδὸς . . .) πρὸς τῇμ Μεμφε[ι]δα] αὐτῇ δὲ ἔχει ἡμε[ρῶ]ν τρεῖς ὧν πόρον. (τ)αύτῃ is another possibility; but makes it difficult to supplement the beginning of the line.)

9 λ]ριπον: of ο a lower left quadrant; of ι only the lower part. For the expression see Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 30.

13-14 ελθ[ω]ν is difficult to avoid. Either another imperative has fallen out; or πάντα must be adverbial, ‘in all respects’ or ‘everywhere’.

15 ff. If lines 20 f. are correctly reconstructed, the reference is to Isis' search for Osiris after his death (e.g. Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 14-15; Egyptian sources are listed in J. Gwyn Griffiths's commentary, p. 315). According to Diodorus 1. 17 and 20, Hermes (and Heracles) was left to assist Isis during Osiris' absence; Hermes and Isis together sacrificed to him after his death. I do not know any account in which Hermes joined Isis in the search, as he does apparently in the papyrus.

18 Ειςιν: of ε only the back; of ν the first upright, and a point from the foot of the second (not ε). Read *Ιεε.

19 f. ζητουςα: ε is likely (though it contains an oblique bar which might make a misshapen ε); of α the loop and tips from the back. But the sentence still lacks a main verb.

20 τρυβ[α]λεα: only the last three letters are sure. At the beginning almost anything could be read from the damaged and stained traces.

21 [. . .] .: the last trace is an upright, with diagonal joining from the left: ν possible. *Ο[ε]ρι]ν would do. But equally *Ω[ρο]ν, if it were appropriate (Hopfner, *Fontes* p. 295; Anubis and Isis search for the lost Horus); we should then need a new reading in 20.

21-2 Αμενν.φ . . . : before φ the traces are just consistent with ω (two short parallel uprights). At the end ν[rather than ε[: Αμενν.φ.φ.ε.ν? Αμενν.φ.φ.θ.ν?

3012. ROMANCE (ANTONIUS DIOGENES?)

Plate VI

27 3B.43/C (1-2) a

12 × 11 cm.

Second/third century

This scrap comes from a very handsome roll, written in a good Severe Style. The upper margin is of c. 5 cm. The left margin (c. 4 cm.) is twice the width of the inter-columnium (c. 2 cm.): probably, then, the beginning of a roll. The numeration in the upper margin, added by a different hand, may be a book-number (see note). Lines 2, 9, 10, and 14 end with space-fillers. The back is blank.

The content, so far as discernible, is sentimental narrative. There is a narrator

d 9 f.), probably female (9 f.); a letter has arrived (1-2); the narrator perhaps reacts with a noble utterance (8) and a reference to her troubles (9). Δεινία (3) looks like a proper name.

These data allow a guess. The novel of Antonius Diogenes (summarized by Photius, *Bibl.* no. 166, II p. 140 Henry) was narrated by a Deinias; much of it repeated a narrative of Dercyllis, about the adventures of herself and her brother Mantinias. It is tempting to regard Dercyllis as the 'I' of our text, and restore her name in line 5.

If this guess is right, we have the beginning of one book of τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα. The text adds little. No crucial letter appears in Photius' summary. And the case for attributing PSI 1177 to Antonius is not strengthened by two minor verbal echoes (1-2, 9-10 notes).

See in general R. Helm, *Der antike Roman*² 29 f.; Kl. Reyhl, *Antonius Diogenes* (Diss. Tübingen 1969).

[.]Δ'

— ημενεπιστοληταυ α[
ταεδη ουεγωδε [
πωσα[.]οιωδεινια [
..μ[.]λε..[.]ε[] [
5 φη[.]ερκ.[
ν[.]διαλ.[
ς[.]αφωνη[.] [
τωγενναιαν ροει[] [
μεηδητοισεμαν [
10 τη.κα[.]π..[] [
τ[.]τ[.]αυ[.]νω[.]εν [
]ν.υθυκατε [
].σπουδηιβου[
]...[.]... [
.

i 2 Oblique foot as of λ 3]οιω: of ι the lower part of the shaft (too high in the line for τ)
4 .[: parts of uprights][: upright and oblique horizontal as of ε][: curving tail as of α][:
top of upright []: space for one or two letters, if necessary 5 .[: upright, upper part slopes to
left 6 .[: oblique feet, as of α or λ][: oblique foot, as of α or λ 7]...: first oblique foot; third
diagonal joining upright, as of ν][: point at line-level 8 .ρ: upright joining horizontal (as of γ),
further trace as of second upright []: space for one letter, if necessary 10 τη.: η corrected
(from ε?); high junction as of γ ε etc.][: upright][: high horizontal][: high point, then
upright and horizontal as of γ, π][: tip of high horizontal 11 .[: oblique foot as of α][:

1 ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦ-
 τα ἐδήλου· ἐγὼ δὲ
 πωσα[.]οιμ Δεινία
 ..[μἐ.]λε...[.]ε
 5 φ.[.] Δερκυ[λλ...
 ν.[...]διαν λα[...
 ς[.]..ναφωνη[....
 τω γενναίαν προει[]
 με ἤδη τοῖς ἐμαν-
 10 τῆς κακ[οῖ]ς π..[].
 τ[...].τ.[.]αγ[...].νω[.]εν
]ν εὐθὺς κατε-
]. σπουδῇι βου-
]....[.]..

end of horizontal at middle height 12] ν . : hook at line level (ϵ or c) 13] $\cdot$: tips of horizontals at middle and full height (ϵ ?) 14] $\cdot$... : first horizontal, joining top of upright
 $\cdot$: upper part of crossed 'z' (i.e. horizontal at middle height bisecting space-filler?)

Top margin. [...]Δ: δ alone, or any two- or three-part numeral ending in it. It is not likely to be a column-number, for we seem to have the beginning of a roll. Perhaps, then, a roll- or book-number. (Antonius Diogenes wrote in twenty-four books: thus δ, [ι]δ, and [κ]δ are all possible restorations.)

1-2 Cf. PSI 1177. 22 καὶ ἐδήλου (τὸ γραμματεῖον) τὰδε.

3 If πῶς or πως is separate, the rest can be articulated either (a) α[.]οῖω, Δεινία; or (b) α[.]οῖ, ὦ Δεινία. (a) makes difficulties: π]οῖω leads nowhere, ἀ[χρ]οῖω has no obvious meaning here. With (b) we might consider ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς ἀ[ν]οῖ, ὦ Δεινία; then, as Dr. Rea suggests, ..[μ]ε[.]. λέξα[ιμ]ι.

4 λε[.]: the first trace is like no other preserved letter in the piece; it might be the upper part of ξ, as formed in similar hands. Then traces consistent with the left side of α or λ.

4-5 The spacing allows ἐφ]η[ν, Δ]ερκυ[λλί, ἐφ]η, [ὦ Δ]ερκυ[λλί, ἐφ]η [ἡ Δ]ερκυ[λλίς. The last best suits the reconstruction proposed for 3-4.

7-10 Reconstruction depends on line 8. προει (not πρόες) seems unavoidable; the small lacuna following might hold one narrow letter; a wide letter, or any further writing, ought to be visible on the papyrus preserved at line-level further to the right. In 9 ἡδη might be ambiguous (ἡδη, ἡδῆ).

E.g. προεῖμε (l. -αι) ἡδη τοῖς ἐμavτῆς κακ[οῖ]ς... The phonetic corruption is unwelcome; but the participle προεῖς would be awkward, and I can fit no other part of προίημι.

9-10 PSI 1177. 25 τὰ] ἐavτῆς κακά.

10 π[.]: apparently πεπ, πιπ, or ποπ.

11 e.g. ἐ]ὰν [μ]ένω[μ]εν. The line results from the junction of two fragments: the first has 1-10 and in 11 τ[.]τ[.]εν, the second has 11]αυ[.]νω[and 12-14. The vertical alignment is guaranteed by a prominent fibre; the exact join is strongly suggested by an oblique crease which appears on the back of both fragments.

3013. ARGUMENT OF A *Tereus*?

21 3B.26/H (8-9) a

19.5 × 14.6 cm.

Plate III
Second/third century

The front of this papyrus is occupied by two damaged columns from a register, which mentions amounts of land and grain belonging to individuals in various Oxyrhynchite villages (Senepta, Muchis, Sinary, Nesla). Some entries begin with a cross-shaped check-mark.

On the back, across the fibres, is 3013. Both columns of text are complete at head and foot; but of col. ii only the left-hand half remains. The intercolumnium is nearly 2 cm., the margin before col. i is c. 5 cm. Probably, therefore, we have the beginning of the roll or sheet. The narrative ends with the second column; there is no means of telling whether there were further columns treating further stories.

The hand is a decent semi-cursive of the second or third century: η appears both in cursive and in capital shape; ε and κ are always cursive; καὶ is written as a cursive κ with one additional stroke. The scribe wrote no punctuation, except in 30 ἀγ'νοων (this use of the apostrophe, rare before the third century, suggests a later rather than an earlier date); he has final iota adscript correctly in both places which require it (5), and once in error (15). The copy is a careless one: the misspelling Πρόκη is repeated; two passages seem certainly corrupt (2, 27).

The complete lines of col. i have 23 to 26 letters; those in col. ii which can be restored most plausibly have 19, 21, 23, and 24. The scribe sometimes leaves gaps, partly at least to avoid roughnesses in the writing surface: so that the estimating of lacunae is not easy.

The text—a narrative of the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela—seems to

have stood complete in these two columns. The first begins with a heading set out in the upper margin: *Τηρεὺς [ἡ ὕ]πόθεσις*. The obvious parallels for such a heading come from the 'Tales from Euripides'. These epitomes have a common form: (title) *οὐδ' ἀρχὴ* (first line) *ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις*. (See 2455, 2457, PSI 1286, PMilVogl. 44. 420 (Electra) is damaged at the beginning; 2544 (Phoenissae) begins at the top of a column with the narrative, and may or may not have prefatory matter in a preceding column.) Similarly the hypotheses to Menander, 1235.

3013 resembles the 'Tales', and the mythographic hypotheses which descend from them, in the vagueness of its content: nothing is said about production or dramaturgy; it is not even clear how much of the story was treated directly, how much merely assumed. But the 'Tales' are at least attached to a particular play by the citation of the first line. 3013 has nothing of the sort: and the question must arise, whether it is simply mythographic narrative, or whether the use of the word *ὑπόθεσις* proves connection with a play.

Only two classical authors are known to have written plays about Tereus: Philocles, see Aristophanes, *Av.* 281 and scholia; and Sophocles, see fr. 581-95 Pearson (add Ammonius, *de Diff.* p. 79 Nickau, *app. crit.* to § 301; and perhaps Page, *GLP* no. 24). The later tradition, with the exception of Hyginus, presents a fairly consistent story: see Apollodorus II p. 99 Frazer. And this story is presumed to go back to Sophocles. The story, like 3013, sets the scene in Thrace; this must have been the normal fifth-century view, to judge from the vigour with which Thucydides polemizes against it (2. 29. 3).

If then our text is the hypothesis to a play, it is likely to be the play of Sophocles. If so, we may take it as confirmation that the standard story of the mythographers goes back to Sophocles; and especially that the play took place in Thrace and not in Daulia. As a composition the text has similarities with the Euripidean summaries: the initial proper name, verbs in the past tense, ambitious vocabulary. The heading differs, in omitting the first line; but this short form is the norm in the medieval hypotheses to all the tragedians.

An alternative is to see the piece as an exercise in narrative, like the school pieces in Ziebarth, *Aus. d. ant. Schule* 17b and 40. I am not sure that *ὕ]πόθεσις* excludes this possibility; nor do verbal coincidences with preserved mythographers. But we need positive evidence of amateurishness. Mis-spellings (3, 5) and garbling (2, 27) may be the fault of the copyist; and so perhaps *πρεσβυτερωτέραν* (4). There remains only the odd syntax of 7 *προσαγορεύσας* and 12 *ἄξιον*, and the anacoluthon in 20-23.

	col. i		col. ii
↓	τηρευσ[...].θεσις		νοσδε[...].μητηα[
	.].νδιωνοτωναθηβαιωνδυν.ς		εγλωσσοτομ.[
	.].χωνθυγατεραςπροκηνκαιφιλο		20 παραγεναμενος[
	.].ηλαντηνπρεσβυτερωτεραν		θρακηνκαιτηφ[
5	.].οκηντηρειγαμωιεξευξεν[.].ωι		δυναμενης[
	.].θρακωνβασιλει.ςεσχενξεξ		συνφοραδιυφο[
	.].ησυιονπροσαγορευσας		επιγνουσαδεηπρ[
	ιτυνχρονουδεδιελθοντοςκαι		25 θειανζηλοτυπ[
	βουλομενηςτηςπροκνηςθεα		οιστρηθειαςκαι[
10	σαςθαιτηναδελφηνηξιοςετον		νην.ερεινοισλα[
	τηρεαπορευσαςθαιει.αθηνας		ιτυνςεφαγιασε[
	αξεινοδεπαραγενομενοςεις		σαπαρεθηκε[
	αθηναςκαιε[.....].θειςυ.ο		30 βοραναγ'νοων[
	τουπανδιονος[.....].θενονκαι		δευθειαςαιεγε[
15	μεσοπορησας[.....].ηιτηςπαι		αηδωνηδεχ.[
	δοσοδεταπισ[.....].υλαξας		δεοστηρευσ[
	διεπαρθενευ[.....].αβουμε		

1]. : foot of upright; lower part of upright 2]. : peak as of α or λ .c: upright, point at middle height 6]. : upright .c: upright, turning left at foot 7]. : π or τ 11 ει. : trace of high horizontal 13 .[: γ or π . : low horizontal υ.ο: high horizontal, low point below 14]. : short upright, high points of ink above 19 .[: upright, vestige of cross-bar at middle height 32 .[: part of curved back

- 1 Τηρέυς· [ἡ ὕ]πόθεσις
 Π]ανδίων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυν<άστ>ης,
 ἔ]χων θυγατέρας Πρόκ<ν>ην καὶ Φιλο-
 μ]ήλαν, τὴν πρεσβυτερωτέραν
 5 Πρ]όκ<ν>ην Τηρεῖ γάμωι ἔζευξεν [τ]ῶι
 τῶ]ν Θρακῶν βασιλεῖ, ὃς ἔσχεν ἔξ
 αὐ]τῆς υἱὸν προσαγορεύσας
 Ἰ]τυν· χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος καὶ
 βουλομένης τῆς Πρόκνης θεά-
 10 κασθαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἡξίωσε τὸν
 Τηρέα πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἀθήνας
 ἄξιν· ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς
 Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐπ[.....]θεὶς ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Πανδίωνος [τὴν πα]ρθένον καὶ
 15 μεσοπορήσας [ἡράσθ]η{ι} τῆς παι-
 δός· ὁ δὲ τὰ πικ[τὰ οὐ φ]υλάξας
 διεπαρθένευ[σεν· εὐλ]αβούμε-
 νος δὲ μὴ τῇ ἀ[δελφῇ] μηνύσῃ
 ἐγλωσσοτόμη[σε τὴν παῖδα·
 20 παραγενάμενος [δὲ εἰς τὴν
 Θράκην καὶ τῆς Φ[ιλομήλας οὐ
 δυναμένης [ἐκλαλεῖν τὴν
 συνφορὰν δι' ὕφο[υς ἐμήνυσε·
 ἐπιγνοῦσα δὲ ἡ Πρ[όκνη τὴν ἀλή-
 25 θειαν ζηλοτυπ[ία τῇ ἐσχάτῃ
 οἰστρηθεῖσα καὶ [c. 7
 νην] εἰρεινοῖς λα[βοῦσα τὸν
 Ἰ]τυν ἐσφαγίασε [καὶ καθεψήσα-
 κα παρέθηκε [τῶ Τηρεῖ· ὁ δὲ τὴν
 30 βορὰν ἀγνοῶν [ἔφαγεν· αἱ δὲ φυγα-
 δευθεῖσαι ἐγέ[νοντο ἡ μὲν
 ἀηδῶν ἡ δὲ χε[λιδῶν, ἔποψ
 δὲ ὁ Τηρέυς.

‘Tereus: the *hypothesis*:

Pandion, the ruler of the Athenians, having (two) daughters, Procne and Philomela, united the

elder, Procne, in marriage with Tereus the king of the Thracians, who had by her a son whom he named Itys. As time passed, and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring (her back). He, after reaching Athens and receiving the girl from Pandion and making half the return journey, fell in love with the girl. And he disregarded his trust and violated her. But, as a precaution in case she should tell her sister, he cut out the girl's tongue. On arriving in Thrace, and Philomela being unable to speak her misfortune, she revealed it by means of a piece of weaving. When Procne realized the truth, driven mad by jealousy . . . she took Itys and killed him and after cooking him served him up to Tereus. He ate the meal without realizing. The women took to flight and became, one of them a nightingale, one a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe.'

1 [ῆ ὕ]πρόθεσις: the two traces before θ look like the foot of an upright, followed by a short upright (unless this is ink which has run on a prominent fibre). I have taken them to belong to a π (right foot) and to a straight-sided σ , but it is not (palaeographically) a reading which leaps to the eye. The space will not allow [$\sigma\delta$ ῆ ὕ]πρόθεσις or [ῆ $\delta\epsilon$ ὕ]πρόθεσις.

3 Πρόκ<ν>ην: so in 5 but not in 9. Perhaps a phonetic error, though I can find no parallel closer than δραχ<μ>ή, which occurs sporadically in documents (Dr. Gignac refers to BGU 1602 B 11, PRossGeorg. II 19. 54, PTebt. 397. 32, Wilcken, *Ostr.* 674. 3).

4 πρεσβυτερωτέραν: paralleled only in the document M. Chr. 57. 15. Double comparatives of course occur early, and become frequent later; but the double -τερος is not expected (Mayser i 2. 61 f., Schwyzer i 535. 8). Perhaps then (as Rea suggests) a simple error: πρεσβυ{τερω}τέραν.

13 Perhaps ἐπ[ιτρε]φθείς. (ἐλ[χειρι]σθείς would suit the sense equally, and fill the lacuna, for which [ιτρε] is a little short. But the trace before θ fits the flat-based loop of ϕ better than the lower curl of ς .)

18 ff. The lines of the second column have lost about half their length. The very probable restorations in 21, 24, 31, and 32 give line-lengths of 23, 24, 21, and 19 letters.

23 δι' ὕφο[υς] is certain, not ὕφης or ὕφάσματος. The account must have been brief and unexplicit, in the space available: contrast Apollodorus 3. 14. 8 ὕφηναισα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα; Conon, *Narr.* (FGrH 26 F 1) 31 πέπλον ὑφαίνουσα γράφει τὰ πάθη τοῖς νήμασι.

27 νην.ερεινοῖς: of the damaged letter there remains the right-hand half: an angle best suited to σ or perhaps to δ (though this is normally wider and flatter). Under the corruption there should be a reference to the Erinyes: cf. remotely Ach. Tat. 5. 5. 6-8 δύο γυναῖκες εἰς ἐν πνέουσαι καὶ ὕβρει κέρασσαι τὴν ζήλοτυπίαν δείπνον ἐπινοοῦσι τῶν γάμων ἀτυχέστερον . . . ἐδείπνησεν ὁ Τηρεὺς δείπνον Ἐρινύων. If the readings are right, emendation is required: (a) καὶ [γενομέ]νη ὑπερινός (but the adjective is not attested); (b) καὶ [μεμανημέ]νη ὑ<π>ὸ Ἐρινύ<ο>ς (Rea).

Alternatively, we might try to read νη ἢ δ' Ἐρεινοῖς (for -ὕς): ' . . . she, like a Fury, . . . '. This runs into two difficulties: (a) ν.ερεινοῖς looks a better reading than η.ερεινοῖς (there is no sign of the left upright of η); (b) the sentence in 24-6 is left without a main verb.

33 The end, apparently, though the break in the papyrus might conceal further writing in the same line.

II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3014. GNOMON OF THE IDIOS LOGOS §§ 35-41

20 3B.30/F (1-3) b

12.5 × 22 cm.

Plate VII
First century

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* has been known so far only from the complete copy published as BGU V. The new text comprises a single column to full height, damaged at the left and in places much rubbed. One initial trace remains from a second column. The back is blank.

The hand is a rapid professional cursive, comparable e.g. with Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 28 (A.D. 31) and 30 (A.D. 40/1), *PGB* 15b (A.D. 39) and 16a (A.D. 42). Short blanks are used as punctuation in lines 3, 12, and 13; blank line-spaces separate the sections (one of them, between 4 and 5, shows the end of an extended paragraphus).

The text in BGU was compiled, if not copied, under Antoninus Pius. 3014, to judge from the hand, belongs as much as a century earlier. It avoids some minor errors: 12 οἱ μὲν (ὁ μὲν BGU), 17 τῶ ἡγτονι (ηγτονι BGU); at 13 it has the expected ἡμίσει, against ἡμ[ιει]α̃ which Schubart read reluctantly on palaeographic grounds. But there are more substantive variations:

3 f. the property of soldiers who die intestate and without heirs *eiusdem generis* goes to the camp: 3014 is now the earliest evidence for this rule; BGU omits the clause.

9 f. those who go into self-imposed exile are allowed one-twelfth of their property. BGU attributes this concession to Antoninus Pius, 3014 to some earlier (but illegible) authority. Both copies have αὐτοῖς masculine (against Naber's misguided αὐταῖς, see *Museum*, 1920, p. 221).

17 the spacing in 3014 excludes the garbled text of BGU. I suspect that Αἰγυπτίοις alone stood here, and that ἡ ἀστοῖς is a marginal addition (deriving from a later change of law?) which BGU misplaced.

By and large, however, the text shows remarkable stability. We cannot tell whether the numeration of sections was the same. Only one number survives, that is $\overline{\mu}$ for the first section of column two. This is $\overline{\mu\beta}$ in BGU: so there can have been no very large variation.

- τοὺς στρατευομένους] κ[αὶ] ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας § 35 [
 ἐξὸν τέκνοις καὶ συγγεν[έ]σ[ιν] κληρονομεῖν ὅταν τοῦ μ[
 αὐτοῦ γένους ὦσιν οἱ μετερχόμενοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [
 c. 10]...η παρεμβολή (vac.) [
]— [
 5 τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοις] ἢ μείζουσιν ἀμαρτήμασιν κολαζο- § 36 [
 μένων ἢ καὶ διὰ] ὁμοίας αἰτίας αὐθαίρετον φυγὴν ἐ- [
 λομένων τὰ ὑ]πάρχοντα ἀναλαμβάνεται δίδοτ[αι] .. [
 c. 12]...των καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐν ἀργυρίοις ..[... [
 c. 14]...αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ὑπὸ [
 10 c. 12]ου...ου συνεχωρήθη (vac.) [
] [
 οἱ παρὰ προστ[ά]γματα βασιλέων ἢ ἐπάρχων τι πρ[ά]ξαν- § 37 [
 τες ἀκαταλλήλως] ἐζημιώθησαν οἱ μὲν τετάρτῳ μέρει [
 τῆς οὐσίας οἱ δὲ] ἡμίσει ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ ὅλων (vac.) [
] [
 οἱ ἐξ ἀστῆς κ[αὶ] Αἰγυπτ[ί]ου γενόμε[ν]οι μέν[ουσι] μὲν § 38 [
 15 Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμφοτέρου]ς δὲ κληρονομοῦσι τοῦ[ς] γονεῖς [
] [
 Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμ[α]ίας κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνελθ[όντων] § 39 [
 c. 14 τ]ὰ τέκνα τῶ ἡττοῦ γένει ἀ[κολουθεῖ] [
] [
 τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰ]σαγ[ό]ντων οὐς μὴ δεῖ εἰς τῇ[ν] Ἀλεξανδρέ- § 40 [
 ων πολιτεία]ν [νῦν] ἡγεμο[ν]ικῆς γέ[γονεν] διαγνώσεως [
] [
 20 ἐὰν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ κοπ[ρ]ίας ἀν[έ]λ[η]ται § 41 [

9 ὑπο (= ὑπο)

1-3 This article is usually thought to derive from a letter of Hadrian of A.D. 119 (M. Chr. 373). This letter allows soldiers' children, born during the period of service, to claim ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς γένους συγγενέσι δίδονται. The new copy of the *Gnomon* is most probably earlier than Hadrian. Either then line 2 must be supplemented somehow else; or the inference is false. But in any case the provisions of the *Gnomon* and of the Letter are not coextensive. Children might have been born to soldiers before they entered the army; and these were presumably legitimate. Children born during the period of service were illegitimate, because their fathers were legally debarred from marriage. Hadrian is concerned only with the illegitimate; the innovation is to allow them rights under the clause *unde cognati*. The *Gnomon* is formulated more generally, and perhaps refers to legitimate offspring.

3-4 In BGU article 35 finishes at οἱ μετερχόμενοι. The new clause should refer to cases in which

there are no heirs *eiusdem generis*. At the end $\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ is clear, $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ possible. The point must be that the dead man's property goes to the camp as a whole. This arrangement is implied in a letter of Hadrian (*Dig.* 28. 3. 6. 7) about succession in cases of suicide: 'divus Hadrianus dedit epistula ad Pomponium Falconem ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit eius testamentum; quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum, aut si intestato decessit cognatis aut, si non sint, legioni ista sint vindicanda.' (Cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 40. 5. 4. 17.) A full statement in a constitution of A.D. 347, *Cod. Theod.* 5. 6. 1 = *Cod. Just.* 6. 62. 2: '... cum aliquis fuerit rebus humanis exemptus atque intestatus sine legitimo herede decesserit, ad vexillationem in qua militaverit res eiusdem necessario pervenire.'

]. . . η $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$: perhaps e.g. $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta$ $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ (for the verb cf. *Gnomon* line 66); the only doubt is the tau of $\tau\eta$, where one would expect the vertical to be visible. The traces allow] $\alpha\iota$ but not] $\epsilon\iota$. But of course it may have been a nominative,]. . . η $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$.

7 ff. BGU reads: $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\tau\omicron$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\acute{\xi}\iota\nu$ $\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ $\bar{\iota}\beta$ $\Lambda\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron$ [c] $\text{Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος συνεχώρησεν}$. 3014 differed slightly in several places:

7-9 Following BGU we might reconstruct: $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ | $\tau\omicron$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$] $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\acute{\xi}\iota\nu$ < $\alpha\iota$ > $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$. This satisfies the traces. But (1) the supplement at the beginning of 8 is long, even given the elasticity of cursive hands; (2) the fraction is written in line 9 as word, not numeral; (3) line 9 needs an extra word, if $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$] $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ is right. (1) and (2) could be eliminated by assuming an omission:] $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ < $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ >. I see no way of dealing with (3).

9-10 There is nothing against $\kappa\alpha\iota$] $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$; for the rest, the clause will have been the same in outline as in BGU, but couched in the passive. The concession is attributed to someone, whose name in the genitive should follow $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$ at the beginning of line 10. If the someone was an emperor, the wording should follow one of two basic patterns: $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ X ; or X $\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$.

The traces are substantial. After] $\omicron\upsilon$ parts of horizontal and upright (π , τ , υ ?); then a small space which may or may not have contained a whole letter; then the foot of an upright; then another small space; then part of a loop ($\omicron$, ρ , α ?); then horizontal and upright as of τ or ligatured ι ; then foot of upright with another point high up above it; then a point of ink at line height: e.g.]. $\tau\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ or]. $\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, even perhaps]. $\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$. $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ seems to be excluded; and I can fit no imperial name (it would have in any case to be a long one).

Legal sources (Mommson, *Strafrecht* 1010 f.) do not help. They give the purpose of the concession as *viaticum*; but again I cannot identify $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\omega$ (or $\acute{\epsilon}\phi$ -) or $\omicron\delta\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ or $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ here.

16 BGU has $\lambda\theta$ $\text{Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμαίας κατ' ἄγνωιαν συνελθόντων ἢ ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰ τέκνα ἤγτονι γένει ἀκολουθεῖ}$. In this $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ Αἰγυπτίοις is clearly garbled, and $\acute{\eta}\gamma\tau\omicron\nu\iota$ for $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\eta}\gamma\tau\omicron\nu\iota$ is simple error. Line 17 may have had the correct version of the first phrase as it does of the second; the whole phrase would certainly be long for the space, but Αἰγυπτίοις by itself would fit neatly; BGU will have incorporated and misplaced a marginal note.

3015. EXTRACTS FROM COURT RECORDS

35 4B.101/K (5)

22.2 × 21 cm.

Early 2nd century

This sheet, which contains items of case-law about testamentary disposition, has been folded nine times across the writing, and then in half along its width; these folds explain the repeated damage-pattern in lines 14-16. The copy was made after the death of Trajan (6, 13), but not much after, to judge from the hand. The back is blank.

Three decisions are cited. Of the first (1-5) only the end remains. The second and third are complete: one (6-12) dates from 8 May 109; the other (13-27) from an unknown year of Trajan; in both the judge is the prefect Sulpicius Similis; both begin with the 'extract formula' (8, 14), and mention consultation with the consilium and a legal assessor. All three decisions, then, are probably extracted from the prefect's

commentarii; and the extract comprises his general statement about the point of law, followed by the verdict (which is marked off in 4 and 25 by the asyndeton).

This collection has considerable similarity with 2757, which contains (in consecutive columns) decisions of the prefects Colo (A.D. 70) and Lupus (71/2–72/3). The outline is much the same: date, parties, extract phrase. The two columns carry the numbers 15 and 1[6]: an extensive series. It might be that 3015 belonged to this series, and had the name of Similis as its heading (now lost). In favour of this supposition is community of subject: 2757 ii concerns the right of fathers to disinherit any of their children at choice, much the same point as 3015 22 f.; 2757 i deals with a contract made by a man now dead, so that the issue may have been similar. On the other hand, 2757 and 3015 seem unlikely to belong to the same roll: the hands are different, and 3015, with its wide left margin (4 cm.) and straight right edge, looks like a separate sheet. Further, 2757 was found in the third year of Grenfell and Hunt's excavations, 3015 in the fourth.

All three cases concern the rights of testators. In the first the prefect announces his intention of judging by 'the laws of the Egyptians' (3); in the second he decides that the testator had full discretion, as being an 'Egyptian'; in the third he refers simply to 'the law' (20). It seems clear, then, that Similis made his decisions under local law, which was less strict in its provisions; and this is why he needs the help of Artemidorus the solicitor, and from him cites this law at second hand.

It is an interesting question whether this is in some way a new departure. Similis deals with a similar question in the edict 237 viii 21 ff. + PMerton iii 101, which concerns the rights of Egyptian women over their husbands' property under local law (*ἐγγχώρια νόμιμα*). The edict and the decisions in 3015 would fit the thesis of Taubenschlag about οἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμοι (*Law*² 6, *Op. Min.* ii 108 f.): he suggested that the phrase designates a new code, introduced in the second century and applicable to all 'Egyptians' in the Roman sense (including, that is, the Greeks of the metropoleis). It might be, then, that Similis had taken some step to recognize or systematize local law in the matter of matrimonial and inherited property; and found himself dealing with a whole group of test-cases in consequence. But there are objections to the general thesis: see Wolff, *ZSS* 70 (1953) 42 f. And in particular 2757 ii seems to presuppose a very similar situation c. A.D. 72: there too a νομικός expounds 'the laws', and concludes that the testator has full discretion; only a specific reference to 'Egyptians' is missing.

πανπράσιον (21) is a new word, which apparently describes a practice familiar from demotic contracts. Our text shows the same practice in use, in the early second century, among the Greeks of the metropoleis.

I have particular obligations to Prof. P. W. Pestman, for a discussion of this difficult document.

-]....[...]....[...]......[
 ...]....μονο.κ[...]....υσι κάλλιστόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦς
 δικ[αιοδοτεῖν π[ρὸς] τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων νόμους
 ἐ]φ' οἷς ἔξεστι κ[α]ὶ μεταδιατίθεται· καλῶς δι-
 5 ἐθε]το ὁ τελευτήσ[α]ς.
 (ἔτους) ιβ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παχὼν ιγ· Ἀρειος καὶ Σαραπίων
 ἀμφότεροι Πτολεμαίου πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ
 Ἀπολλώνιον· ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων· Σουλ(πίκιος)
 Σίμιλις πυθόμενος Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ ἐξη-
 10 γουμένου τρο[ν]ς νόμους περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
 καὶ συνλαλήσας τοῖς συμ[β]ούλοις ἔφη· Αἰγύ-
 π]τιος εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν καθὼς βούλεται διαθέσθαι.
 (ἔτους) . . .] θεοῦ Τρα[ι]αν[ο]ῦ Τῦβι κ̄ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Τρύφωνα
 πρὸς Διδ[...]. . .] μεθ' ἑ[τερα]· Σουλ[πίκι]ος Σίμιλις
 15 συνλ[α]λή[σας] τοῖς συνβ[ού]λοις καὶ ἀνα[κοιν]ωσάμεν[ος]
 Ἀρ[τεμιδώ]ρω νομικῶ ἔ[φη]· λ[έ]γεται .[...].ονε.[....
 ..]. . . οὔτε ἡ γυνή ἐφ' ἧς καινότερόν τι συνεφώνη[σεν]
 ὁ πατήρ τοῦ γαμοῦντος οὔτε οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῆς περίεισι
 οἷς ἐδύνατο κατέχεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν,
 20 ἄκυρόν ἐστιν ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα· ὁ δὲ νόμος ὡς λέ-
 γεται δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν τῶι τὸ πανπράσιον οἰκονομή-
 σαντι καὶ κατασχόντᾳ τοῖς τέκνοις τὰ ἴδια ἐκλέ-
 ξασθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓνα καὶ κληρονόμον ποιῆσαι· οὐκοῦν
 παραπεσούσης τῆς δευτέρας ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν προ-
 25 τέραν ἀνέκαμψεν τὸ δίκαιον· ἐξῆν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐβούλετο
 διαθέσθαι κληρονόμους καταλιπόντι τοὺς παῖδας αὐ-
 τοῦ ἐφ' οἷς ἐποιήσατο τὸ πανπράσιον.

8 σουλ'

21 οικονομη-: οι suprascript above an undeleted ω

“... it is best that they should decide cases in accordance with the laws of the Egyptians—under which it is possible even to alter the terms of the will. The will which the deceased made is in order.”

‘Yr. 12 of the deified Trajan, Pachon 13. Arius and Sarapion, both sons of Ptolemaeus, against Athenodorus and Apollonius. From the pleadings. Sulpicius Similis, after inquiring about the case from Artemidorus the interpreter of the laws and talking with his advisers, said: “As an Egyptian, he had the right to make his will on whatever terms he wished.”

‘[Yr. . . .] of the deified Trajan, Tybi 20. In the case of Tryphon etc. against Did. . . . After

other matter. Sulpicius Similis, after talking with his advisers and referring the case to Artemidorus the lawyer, said: "... neither the wife, over whom the father of the bridegroom made a more recent agreement, nor her sons, are alive, on which parties the (property) in the agreement could be entailed—this document is now void. The law, I am told, gives to a man who has negotiated a 'general sale', even though he has entailed his property on his children, the power to choose out one of them and make this one his heir. It is therefore (not?) the case that, with the disappearance of the second bond, the right reverts to the first one. It was open to him to make his will on whatever terms he wished, (provided that?) he left as heirs those children of his in whose name he made the 'general sale'."

1-2 The validity of a will has been challenged. The prefect dismisses the claim, on the ground that under the 'Egyptian laws' the testator had a perfect right to change his dispositions.

What is in question, then, is the right *μεταδιατίθεσθαι*. This is a right which Greek wills often reserve (e.g. PStrass. 284. 4, BGU 1654. 6, PWisc. 13. 3); BGU 895 documents the disposal of the estate of a *μεταδιατιθεμένη*. The plaintiff obviously could not claim that the procedure was illegal in all circumstances. There must have been something special about the earlier will: perhaps a *κατοχή*.

2 Perhaps *ἡ νόμον οὐκ [ἐ]χ[ο]υσι*. (Of *η* only the diagonal, and a spot of ink suitable for the second vertical; of the first *ο* a left-hand arc. After *-μον* a short space, apparently blank. Of *υ* in *ουκ*, only the top left curl. Then *χ[υ]σι* rather than *λ[υ]σι*.) If this is right, I suppose the general sense is: 'To those who have no claim to be judged by (Roman? Greek?) law, we do best to return judgements by Egyptian law'; write *νόμον* rather than e.g. *κληρονόμον*. But I cannot make a smooth sentence. Is *[ἐ]χ[ο]υσι* verb or participle? Is *αὐτοὺς* subject of *δικαιοδοτεῖν*? or object? (but then a dative might be expected).

9 f. *Ἀρτεμιδώρου*: on the *nomikoi* see Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 161 f.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. soziale Stellung*² 269 f. This Artemidorus might be identified with Clau. Artemidorus, who appears in the same capacity in a similar case of A.D. 124 (M. Chr. 84): see 11 f. note.

11 f. The same general principle is cited in M. Chr. 84. 16 f. (with which cf. 2757 ii). There Blaesus Marianus, by delegation from the prefect Haterius Nepos, hears a case about inheritance: Aphrodisius had entered into an *ἄγραφος γάμος* with Sarapous; one of their sons, Horigenes, had died, bequeathing his estate to one of his brothers and to his cousin Ammonius; Ammonius now claims that the bequest was valid, because Egyptians may leave their property to whomever they like; Aphrodisius argues against him that the son of an unwritten marriage has no right to make a will in his father's lifetime. Marianus, after consulting with Clau. Artemidorus, rejected Ammonius' claim.

Why does Marianus reject the general principle? Arangio-Ruiz suggested that Marianus gave Roman practice the preference over native law: but there are arguments against this view (H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages* 60 ff.), especially if it is the same Artemidorus who gives expert advice in both M. Chr. 84 and 3015. More probably, the principle *καθὼς βούλεται διαθέσθαι* was an established one; but the particular case of a son of an unwritten marriage, making a will in his father's lifetime, does not fall under its provisions. Note the implication (M. Chr. 84. 28 f.) that the son of a written marriage would be in a different position.

16 ff. I am not clear about the outline of this complicated case; and the ambiguity of *ουκουν* in 23 adds to the obscurity. The persons involved are: the father (F), his son who marries (S), a wife (W), sons of W. It seems likely that W is the wife of S (rather than F); and that the other children (22, 26) are children of F. The point at issue must be the will of F. The difficulty lies in deciding how many separate documents are referred to. Very tentatively I suggest three stages:

(1) *πανπράσιον*: F, when he married, 'sold' his property to his wife (21 note) and entailed it on their children. This agreement is called *προτέρα* (*ἀσφάλεια*) in 24 f.

(2) F's son S marries W; F makes some agreement in favour of W and her children. This agreement is referred to by *καινότερόν τι* (17: 'later' than stage 1?), *συμφωνία* (19), *γράμμα* (20), *δευτέρα ἀσφάλεια* (24). W and her sons die (18), so that the agreement lapses (24).

(3) F makes a will, in which he names one of his children sole heir (23). This heir must be the defendant of the suit, i.e. the Did[] of 14.

Two points are therefore central to the decision: that the beneficiaries of (2) are dead, and the agreement accordingly irrelevant; and that the existence of (1) is no bar to (3).

Further questions could be asked about the real situation: how much of the property was involved at each stage? and how far do the stages overlap temporally? Prof. Pestman suggests that (1) concerned the whole estate; (2) concedes part of the estate to W and her children; (3) appointed a sole heir to the rest, at a time when (2) was still valid (this explains why (2) comes into the case at all). Later W and her sons died, and F died, so that the whole property is now in play.

Any reconstruction has to explain two sections of the argument in which the wording is ambiguous:

23 ff. οὐκ οὖν might be positive or negative. If negative, the line is: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is not the case that the lapsing of the second agreement revalidates the first (because the third—the will—is in fact valid).' If οὐκοῦν is positive, and the basic situation has been correctly described, we shall have to transpose stages (2) and (3). Argument: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is the case that the lapsing of the second agreement (in favour of W and her children) revives the former (agreement under which Did[] was made sole heir).'

26 καταλιπόντι might represent more than one mood. Does it mean 'although he had (originally) left (all) the children as heirs . . .' ? Or 'provided that his heirs (or in this case, single heir) are those (or among those) in favour of whom the "sale" was originally made' ? Both elliptical.

16 f. Unless ἀκυρόν ἐστιν ἤδη (20) stands in asyndeton, we need a subordinating conjunction; in fact ἐπ[εὶ] fits well in 17 (before οὕτε a single upright, and before that indeterminate spots of ink).

λ]έγεται begins the sentence; there is no space for ὥς before it. In what follows, [is the left tip of a high horizontal (π? τ?);], is probably θ or τ; [perhaps c, assuming that the trace below is the beginning of 17 η[.

21 πανπράσιον: here and in 27; otherwise only in an unpublished petition to Petronius Mamerinus, prefect A.D. 133/7 (35 4B.64/D (1) a). In the petition the situation is much the same as here. The petitioner's father married according to τὰς νομίμας παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις [c]υγγραφάς, and made a κατοχή of the property of both parents (a special share for the eldest son, other shares for the brothers); here too the word πανπράσιον occurs (damaged context) in connection with κατέχειν; and here too the difficulty arises from a will made later by the father. No Greek source throws any light on the meaning of πανπράσιον. But it is likely to be an Egyptian institution. I am inclined therefore to explain the word from the Demotic contracts described by Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* 37 ff. (the Greek subscriptions call them συνάλλαγμα or συγγραφή τροφίτις). In these contracts, which are often drawn up some time after the actual marriage, the husband acknowledges to the wife that he has sold her his entire property, in return for the token payment (σ'νη) which the wife had made him; sometimes he adds a clause of settlement: 'To you (on behalf of) the children, whom you have borne me and which you will (still) bear to me . . . (the whole property) belongs.' These two elements correspond to πανπράσιον and κατοχή.

Pestman 41 regards πρόπρασις as the Greek name for this procedure: see PMich. 347 (A.D. 21) and PMich. 121 R II ii etc. (A.D. 42). He has suggested to me by letter that πανπράσιον and πρόπρασις in fact describe the same practice from different points of view: it is a sale of the whole property (παν-) but also (since the seller retains the right to dispose of it by testament) a provisional sale (προ-).

22 f. 'The husband is quite free to appoint his heirs, within certain limits, provided that at least one of the children, for instance the eldest son, is appointed heir. . . . The stipulation pertaining to the law of succession is, therefore, inserted in our deeds to indicate who will be the heir of those who are heirs-at-law; when no heir is appointed, those who are heirs-at-law, all the children, inherit the property on that account' (Pestman 128). Cf. the negative form 2757 ii?

24 παραπεσούσης: the normal meaning would be 'having been mislaid', cf. the examples collected by Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 171; in three of them the document is explicitly said to be invalid for this reason. But I don't see that this can be relevant here. The sense ought to be 'lapse', 'become inapplicable'.

3016. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Plate VIII

28 May 148

No inventory number

14.5 × 19.3 cm.

This document is an extract from the prefectural day-book, copied in a heavy round hand of literary pretensions; the copy is not likely to be much later than the events recorded. The back is blank.

The extract concerns proceedings of 28 May 148: presumably in the prefect's court. All that survives belongs to a single clause in the genitive absolute: 'when decisions of the *xenokritai* (who are listed) had been read out (and the decisions are quoted verbatim in Latin), . . .'. The apodosis will have begun in line 22.

The *xenokritai* are the point of interest. The evidence available does not allow a certain conclusion about their functions; but it seems worth collecting the material and venturing a suggestion. I am grateful to the legal seminar which discussed the document in London (notably Prof. J. A. C. Thomas and Prof. Peter Stein) for putting the difficulties in a clearer light.

The *xenokritai* in this document number fifteen; they are Roman citizens; they return a decision in Latin. It is obviously likely, though not to be proved, that they functioned in Egypt. The case apparently concerned a freedwoman: 13] *mulier de qua agitur* .[, 15] . . . *libertina aē* . . [, 18] . . . *seru* [(clearly reading and articulation are doubtful in 15 and 18, but the three passages may be thought to buttress one another). The dispute may have been about her *status libertatis* or about her ownership.

The noun was known otherwise only from two inscriptions: BSA 26. 163 (Sparta, Trajan/Hadrian) Eudocimus ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα; IGR iii 681 = TAM ii 508 (Pinara, ? i B.C.) τὴν τοῦ σε]μνοτάτου δικαιοδότη καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ[ιὰ]λ[α]λά]χριν. In both, as in Cicero's reference to *peregrini iudices* in Cilicia (*ad Att.* 6. 1. 15), interpretation has differed between 'judges for aliens' and 'alien judges' (i.e. judges brought in from outside, μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια). See Magie, *RRAM* ii 1383. The second interpretation fits the Spartan who went to Alabanda in this capacity; in the two other sources the context gives no foothold.

A new piece of evidence accrued quite recently. In *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967) 46 ff. Prof. Polotsky publishes three pieces from the archive of Babatha.¹ This archive, recovered at En Gedi by the Dead Sea, dates from the years A.D. 125–32; its owner, Babatha daughter of Simon, lived at Maoza near Zoar, south of the Dead Sea, in the new province of Arabia; she was presumably a Jewess, and certainly not a Roman citizen. Babatha's son was a minor; the *boule* of Petra provided him with a guardian (PEng. 27). In the same context belong duplicate copies of a Greek formulary (PEng. 28–9), which virtually translates the Roman formula for the *iudicium tutelae* (Lenel, *Edictum* para. 124).

What is odd about the formula is, that where the Roman text would be sup-

¹ The documents are reprinted as SB X 10288; and discussed by M. Lemosse, *The Irish Jurist* 3 (1968) 363. For the archive in general, see Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* 222.

posed to have *iudex esto*, the Greek has *ξενοκρίται ἔτῳσαν*. Prof. Polotsky rendered the word by *peregrini iudices*. Prof. Seidl has approved the rendering (*SDHI* 33 (1967) 550 f.; *Studi in onore di G. Grosso* ii 345 ff.), in the sense 'judges for aliens'; he compares the Greek *κριταί* who are to deal with cases among Greeks in the fourth Cyrene Edict (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 311).

Neither this meaning, 'judge for aliens', nor the other, 'imported judge', seems likely to fit 3016, in which the judges are Roman citizens and return a verdict in Latin. But if they are a Roman institution, and concerned with a case of this kind, it would be tempting to think of them as *recuperatores*. There is some evidence to support this equivalence.

So far as I can discover, no regular Greek translation of *recuperator* is known. Seidl thought he had found one in PFamTebt. 24. 2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνακτήσεως [τῶν ἀλλοτ]ριον-μένων [(*Labeo*, 1965, pp. 37 ff.)]; this certainly answers the basic sense of the Latin. On the other hand, *CGL* iii 336. 44 f. has *κριτήριον ξένον iudicium peregrinum* and *κριτήριον ξένον recuperatorium*. *ξενοκρίτης* would then render not the Latin word, but the origin of the Roman institution as described by Aelius Gallus (i B.C.): 'reciperatio est, . . . cum inter populum et reges nationesque et civitates peregrinas lex convenit, quomodo per reciperatores reddantur res recipereanturque, resque privatas inter se persequantur' (Festus p. 342 L).

Recuperatores certainly occupied themselves with cases of *status*. Thus Claudius' oration BGU 611. 3 f. fixes their minimum age at 24, since they have to judge [*causas*] *servitutis libertatisque*. See B. Schmidlin, *Rekuperatorenverfahren* 86 ff. (The evidence, as might be expected, is confined to Italy and to the first century A.D.) Nothing is said about their numbers. But we might compare the provision of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* (Gaius i 20) for the manumission of slaves under thirty: they do not become citizens unless manumitted *vindicta* after proof of adequate motive before a *consilium* which, in the provinces, is to consist of twenty citizen *recuperatores* and to be convened on the last day of the *conventus*.¹

The discussion is necessarily inconclusive, because the details of the actual case are not available. It is at least clear that these *ξενοκρίται* must be different from those of the Greek inscriptions. If they are *recuperatores*, we have interesting evidence for the survival of older Roman judicial forms in Egypt; and reason perhaps to reconsider the En Gedi formulary, which otherwise preserves strict Roman form, even though its users were not citizens.

The lower part of the papyrus, with the Latin text, is badly rubbed and stained. The readings offered for the Latin are for the most part very doubtful.

¹ We have no mention of this *consilium* in Egypt, unless our text provides one. Contrast *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §§ 19 and 21.

→ (m.²) ὑπομνημ(ατισμῶν) ἡγεμόνος
 ἔτους ιᾱ Ἀντωνείνου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 Παῦνι γ̄
 ἀναγνωσθειςῶν ἀποφάσεων ξενοκρι-
 5 τῶν Φλ(αουίου) Πίου, Ἰουλίου Μινερουᾶλις,
 Μετειλίου Διδύμου, Βαβιδίου Ρούφου,
 Κλ(αυδίου) Γεμίνου, Κασσίου Λιβερᾶλις, Ἐκουι-
 τίου Κλ[α]νδιανοῦ, Ἰουλίου Πρόκλου,
 Ἰουλίου ὠρατου, Κα[.] Ἀπολλιναρίου,
 10 Ἀλφείου Λόνγου, Φλ(αουίου) Δ[ιο]γυσιού, Ο...ε
 Ἀπολλινᾶρις, Ἰουλ[ί]ου Μαξίμου,
 .]λιου Ἀμμωνίου τῶν ὑποτε[
] mulier de qua agitur .[
 .[.]usa oetisaduē[
 15]..libertinaae..[
].lun.n.[
]nonuidet[
]...seru[
].uſexaço.[
 20]e.....sse[
]sa....f.uid[
]. Ἀπολλι[

1 ὑπομνημ 5 φλ. 7 κλ. 10 φλ.

‘(2nd *hd.*) From the *commentarii* of the prefect. (1st *hd.*)

Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 3.

After the reading out of the decisions of the *xenokritai* Fl. Pius, Julius Minervalis, Metilius Didymus, Babidius Rufus, Cl. Geminus, Cassius Liberalis, Equitius Claudianus, Julius Proclus, Julius oratus, ... Apollinaris, Alfius Longus, Fl. Dionysius, ... Apollinaris, Julius Maximus, ... Ammonius, as follows ... “... the woman who is the object of the case ...” ...’

6 Μετειλίου: for the Metilii, see Syme, *JRS*, 1968, p. 138.

Βαβιδίου: Schulze, *Z. Gesch. Lat. Eigennamen* 132 n. 4.

7 f. Ἐκουιτίου: Schulze, *ib.* 355; *nomen* of the emperor Probus, according to Aur. Victor *Ep.* 36. 2; Fl. Equitius was *cos. ord.* in 374.

9 ὠρατου: the trace (assuming the first part of the ink to be the tip of the preceding *υ*) looks most like the junction of two obliques i.e. δ λ μ (less likely ν); but lacks the characteristic left-pointing apex. I find none of these attested as names.

Κα[.]: presumably an abbreviation of Cassius.

10 Ἀλφείου: cf. M. Alfius Coma, *ex-signifer*, BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140.

10 f. Ο...ε[.....]: not Οὐαλε[ρίου]. οὐελε might just be read, with the first ε much cramped, whether

The details of the corrupt and damaged text are often very doubtful. In particular, we need to know the implications of *ἐντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος* (5 note) and of the procedure called *ἐνγράφειν* (13 ff. note).

- ↓ Τίτος Πακτουμή[.]ιος Μάγνος ἑπαρ-
 χος Αἰγύπτου λαίγει[.]· εἴ τινες ὑπο-
 γραφὰς ἔτυχον δότες βιβλείδια
 εἰς ἑπιστολὰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον
 5 “ἐντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος” ἢ μετὰ
 τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο τύχοιεν, ἵστω-
 σαν ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμε-
 ρῶν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπογραφὴν
 ἢ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐντυχ.ται
 10 οὔθ’ ὅτι οὖν καρπώσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ
 πέχειν ἢ νομίμην ἀκολουθίαν
 ἢ ἑδεδικασμένον συντελεῖαν ἢ εἰς-
 πράττειν οφειληματοῖν[.]... μέν-
 τοι καὶ ὑπογραφὰς τοιαύτας ἐνγρά-
 15 ψωσι διαγνώσονται .[.] μὲν ἐντὸς
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὠρισμένου τῶν ἡμε-
 ρῶν ἐνγράψωσι ἵστωσαν τὰς ὑ-
 πογραφὰς αὐτοῖς ἐῖς οὐδὲν χρη-
 σίμους ἐξομένας [κ]α[ι] τοῦ λοιποῦ
 20 οὕτως πρᾶ[.]...[.]...κα μηδὲ
 ...αρ.η[.]...[.]...καὶ ἔλαβον
 .[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...ητ..
].....
].....
 25].....
].....
].....
 ..[]...[.].....
 τ[]...τ[.].....
 30]..αχ[.].....
]...θεο[.]...υ
]..ω.....φ...[.]

1 πακτουμη[.]ῖος 2 l. λέγει 3 l. δόντες βιβλ: ι written over ν 4 ει: l. ἡ τον: ν
 written over α τ 9 -τολην: η written over α ν 10 -εσθαι: ε suprascript over deleted α
 17 ἴστω- 19 εομ-: ε corr. from some straight-backed letter

‘Titus Pactumeius Magnus, prefect of Egypt, says:

If any persons, on handing in petitions, have received subscriptions or letters of this form, namely “Submit the case to me before the tribunal”, or if any persons should receive (such subscriptions) after this edict, they must know that if they do not submit the case to me within ten days of receiving the subscription or the letter, they will reap no benefit as regards (securing? delaying?) either due legal procedures or execution of judgement or as regards recovering debts . . . Further, if they register even such subscriptions, I will settle them within the above fixed period of ten days; <but if they do not> register them <within the ten days>, they must know that the subscriptions will be of no benefit to them, and for the future likewise . . .’

1 The known limits of this prefecture are April/August 176, and 28 March 177 (*BASP* iv 100).

3-4 To judge from 8 f., ἐπιστολάς is linked with ὑπογραφάς; δό<ν>τες βιβλίδια intervenes awkwardly (misplaced by the scribe?). τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον presumably applies to both nouns.

5 ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος: I have found this phrase only once elsewhere: PFouad 24. 1-4 Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος ὁ ἱερεὺς [καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς εἴ]πεν· καὶ πρὸ βήματος μοι ἔντυ[χε] (report of proceedings, c. A.D. 144; the hearing recorded in lines 5 ff. no doubt results from this instruction)—here spoken, not written. Similarly the petitioner in PMich. IX 534 reports (10) ἐνέτυχον πρὸ βήματος.

πρὸ βήματος by itself is commoner. Reports of Proceedings may begin with a location-formula of the type ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ πρὸ βήματος (PAmh. 80. 7, PStrass. 5. 7, 41. 1, 179. 4, PThead. 15. 2); others have ἐπὶ βήματος in the same context (PTebt. 569, PFouad 21. 4 etc.); more specifically ἀναγνωσθέντος τοῦ βιβλιδίου πρὸ βήματος (237 v 13). Similarly in PSI 1357. 5 the strategus receives instructions from the prefect πρὸ βήματος αὐτοῦ.

One of two contrasts might be implied. (1) The petitioner appears in person (does not simply apply in writing): see PFouad 24. 2 note. (2) *Pro tribunali* might be opposed to *de plano*, cf. Modestinus in *Dig.* 27. 1. 13. 6-11: persons who seek to be excused service as *tutor* or *curator* must apply within a fixed period, ἀπόκληρ δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς προθεσμίας ἐντυχεῖν μόνον . . . χρὴ δὲ διαμαρτύρασθαι (Kruger: μιᾷ μαρτ. MSS.) πρὸ βήματος ἢ ἄλλως ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων. δύναται δὲ καὶ βιβλίδια ἐπιδοῦναι χαμᾶθεν, ὥς οἱ αὐτοὶ φασιν αὐτοκράτορες (Severus and Caracalla): the point here is, at a formal session of the court. The same notion, I think, lies behind two other formulae: ἔντυχέ μοι δικάζοντι which appears as subscription to petitions at PAchm. 8. 33, 1558 9, PStrass. 196. 12; and 2343 7 f. κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν . . . παραγγείλα[ς] ἐντυχεῖν σοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, which illustrates Modestinus and in which the crucial issue is again that the application should appear in the formal record (see PBeattyPanop. 1. 100-1 note).

Two further questions: why is the time-limit imposed? there is nothing strictly comparable in the material assembled by Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 179-81. And what kinds of cases are involved? No surviving petition, so far as I see, has precisely this form of subscription. Lines 11-13 should give some indication of scope. But what is common to the three situations specified?

9 ἐντυχ.ται: the meaning required is clear, but I cannot find a satisfactory reading. ἐντύχονται (l. -ων-) is an unwanted middle. ἐντύχη{ι}ται (l. -τε) is an unwelcome second person. We expect ἐντύχωσιν.

10 ff. With the readings οὗθ' ὅτι οὖν (Rea) and ἀπέχειν (Youtie), this difficult passage will make some general sense. The petitioners have various objects: (1) legal proceedings in due form; (2) execution of a judgement previously given; (3) exaction of debts owing to them. This is presumably all normal business. (1) might refer to the initiation of an action by ὑπόμνημα or παραγγελία; for (2) cf. PRossGeorg. II. 20, where the petitioner asks to have τὰ κριθέντα enforced; for (3) see M. Chr. 62. But for all three purposes application must be made within the ten-day limit.

There is a palaeographic difficulty at the beginning of line 11. The first letter or letters has been corrected. At some stage the scribe may have written ὑπ-, for the trema is visible; but the sense excludes it. The easiest reading is αἰπ-, corrected to επ-. ἐπέχειν makes sense of a kind (the petitioner seeks to suspend legal action begun against him, or penalties already decided), but limits the prefect's reform to a narrow range of cases. ἀπέχειν fits the context best; and the reading [.,ι]απ- is at least possible.

11 ἀκολουθίαν: due legal process (Steinwenter, *JJP* 4 (1950) 219 ff.). Thus SB 9622. 12 ἐβουλόμην τότε[ε τῇ] τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀκολουθία χρήσασθαι.

12 δεδικασμένον συντέλειαν: the scribe wrote either συντέλειαν or συντελεία[ν]; before that he presumably intended δεδικασμένην or δεδικασμένων. συντέλεια in the documents normally refers to tax-payments: is δεδικασμένη συντέλεια a payment which the court has decided one must make? But the parallel with νομίμη ἀκολουθία rather suggests δεδικασμένων συντέλειαν as 'the carrying out of the court's decision'.

12 f. If εἰσπράττειν is parallel to ἀπέχειν, the sentence can end intelligibly with ἢ εἰσπράττειν ὀφείλημα; the only doubt of reading is that ὀφει- might be simply ὀφε-. But this leaves grave difficulties with what follows.

13 ff. The fixed point is μέντοι, which seems certain. Before it I can find no plausible reading. ὀφείλημα is clear; then apparently τ (the left half of the cross-bar missing in a gap), ο, ι (an isolated upright); then ν; then a hole which might have contained one letter; then a single upright (ι? ρ? υ?); then a long and a short vertical below a horizontal (as of τρ); then what looks like a blotted τι.

For the general sense, there are two initial difficulties:

1. The grammar clearly fails at some point in lines 15–19. I suggest as the simplest solution that the scribe omitted some words by parablepsy:

(a) assume that the traces between διαγνώσμαι and μὲν are fortuitous; then διαγνώσμαι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὠρισμένου τῶν ἡμερῶν <χρόνου> ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐντὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν <ἐνγράφωσι> κτλ.;

(b) read the traces after διαγνώσμαι as ἐ[ά]ν, and write: διαγνώσμαι ἐ[ά]ν μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὠρισμένου τῶν ἡμερῶν <χρόνου> ἐνγράφωσι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐνγράφωσι ἐντὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἴστωσαν κτλ.

The second accounts better for the slight but visible traces, and for the position of μὲν.

2. The meaning of ἐνγράφειν is crucial; but I have found no parallel context. In general, we might expect 'enter' (in a list or record) or 'register'. But how does this apply to ὑπογραφαί? Is it a matter of writing, as opposed to appearing in person (ἐντυγχάνειν)? or of approaching the prefect privately, as opposed to πρὸ βήματος? or (as Prof. Youtie suggests) of putting one's case down on the calendar of the prefect's court?

I had taken μέντοι (13) to introduce a contrast, and καὶ (14) to emphasize a concession. Petitioners who receive a subscription of the specified form must apply (i.e. appear in person) within ten days. However, even such petitioners may apply in writing rather than in person; but the same time-limit obtains.

Prof. Youtie suggests that μέντοι introduces an addition, not a contrast. The petitioner will have to register his subscription, in order to get a place in the prefect's judicial schedule. Magnus wishes to make it clear how his time-limit applies to this preliminary.

20 After πρᾶ a flat-topped letter; ν might be τ. The sense may be οὕτω πρᾶττειν ἔγνωκα, but I cannot find a reading.

31–2 The edict is likely to have ended with a date. Pactumeius Magnus held office in the joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus; his successor had arrived before the end of that reign (*Ann. Ép.*, 1961, no. 280, see 2760 1 note). In 31 θεο[ῦ] (perhaps καὶ θεο[ῦ] is a possible reading; but I cannot fit what follows either to Marcus or to Commodus.

3018. PRIVILEGES OF PAEANISTAE

No inventory number

12 × 15.5 cm.

Third century

The top of a column, written in a good hand of chancery type; incomplete to the left and at the foot, but nearly complete at the right (as is shown by the space after *Kaîcap* in 2, and by the spreading final *ν* in 3). The back is blank.

The papyrus contains two items: (a) 1–10 a rescript of Severus and Caracalla; (b) 11 ff. a letter of Hadrian. Both concern themselves with the privileges of Paeonistae.

] ἄλλο θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς τοῖς κατ[ὰ τ]ὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν
 ετ]ρατηγοῖς Ἑλληνί τε καὶ βαρβάρους [
]. . . κούσι χαίρειν. ἐπέταξα παιανιστ[.
]πρακτοὺς παντὸς τελέσματος κ[
]ους ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων [...]. [...]. ε[

.

4 φυλατ'τειν 5]. descending diagonal as of α, κ 6 φαρ⁻ 7 .[upright] . top of upright
 16 ιδίων

4]ουργίας: νπ]? λειτ]? At the end μ[seems certain, though only its left half remains; not e.g. ἀνα[φαιρετ-. Some privilege is to be maintained, as e.g. *W. Chr.* 156. 35, perhaps in accord with a previous rescript (5 κατὰ τὰ προτεθέντ]α ἐν τῇ στοᾷ).

5 Φαρμ(οῦθι): two other rescripts (*M. Chr.* 375. 12, 1405 12 f.) belong to Pharmouthi, the last attested month of Severus' stay in Egypt. At the end, the trace allows any numeral except perhaps α and δ.

6 το[.: an upright.], αίων: an oblique tail as of α κ λ μ (or possibly χ): I find no verbal parallel to support 'Ρω]μαίων or ἀρ]χαίων. τ]ὰ τοῖ[ε] - - - παιανισταῖς δι[δόμενα would make a suitable clause.

7 e.g. μ]έχρι [νῦ]ν θρησκευέσθαι; then κατὰ ταῦτα or ταῦτά. The letter of Severus 2610 4 describes the Artists of Dionysus as ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον θρησκ[εῖαι] ἀνακειμέ[νου]ς.

8 E.g. τ]έθει[κεν,] έθει[μον.

8-9 E.g. τὰ γὰρ [ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων] συν[κε]χωρημένα (e.g. 2476 9 f.); this gives a line-length about equal to that in 1 and 3. At the end, some part of μεμένηκε?

10 f. The Roman date. There is room for the consular year at the beginning of 11 (in short form, as e.g. *PGiss.* 40 ii 12); indeed, if the whole line had been blank, we might expect the heading of the next item to be centred.

12-14 I find no parallel for this prescript. ἐπαρχεί[αν might be Egypt, and ετ]ρατηγοῖς the nome-strategi; Ἑλληνί τε καὶ βαρβάρους can hardly apply to strategi, but even as a separate group it is extraordinary (one expects 'Greeks and Egyptians'). And why should Hadrian address lesser officials, and omit the prefect? There is no guarantee that the letter referred originally to Egypt; Asia Minor too had strategi (*Magie, RRAM* ii 1508 f.).

14]. . . κούσι: cf. *M. Chr.* 374. 19 περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἰκούντων, *SEG* ix 8. 79 ff. (Cyrene Edict V) πᾶσιν τοῖς τὰς ἐπαρχίας κατοικοῦσιν.]ο[ικοῦσι could be read.

15 Perhaps ἀνει]σπράκτους (ἀ. περὶ . . . τελεσμάτων 1123 14 etc.); with e.g. 16 ἀπαρενοχλήτ]ους. Then read παιανιστά[ς in 14.

3019. DECISION OF SEVERUS

31 4B. 12/B (1-2) a

5.1 × 16 cm.

9 March 200

This text is written across the fibres on the back of a column of accounts. The clumsy hand is not likely to be much later than the earlier third century.

What we have is an extract (line 13) from proceedings before the emperor Septimius Severus and his *consilium*, in Alexandria, on 9 March 200. The emperor received an embassy from the Egyptians (that is, from the Greeks of the metropoleis), who had

communal petitions to make. One of these petitions, about swineherds, is cited; the imperial decision perhaps follows at the foot of the column (21 n.); the details of both are obscure.

The text has two points of particular interest: the procedure illustrated; and the source and nature of the copy.

Embassies often travelled to present the requests of their communities (3020 i 4). This one is remarkable, in that it apparently represented some or all of the inhabitants of the *chora*. Its reception adds a new facet to Severus' Egyptian visit; so far the evidence for his administrative activity has consisted entirely of rescripts issued to individuals.

The copy is in Greek; but the date takes the Roman form. This points to a Latin original. The most likely such source for this record of proceedings is clearly the imperial *commentarii*. Of these no guaranteed fragment survives. But it is a good guess that the Dmeir inscription is an authentic extract from them. The inscription (*Syria* 23 (1942) 178 f., *SEG* xvii 759) records a hearing before Caracalla in 216. The preamble begins: 'Sabino et Anulino cos., [VI] Kal. Iunias, Antio[chia], Imp. Caesar] M. Aurel. Antoninus Pius Fel. Aug. Par. Max. Brit. Max. Ge[rm. Max.] cum sal(utatus) a prae-f(ectis) praet(orio) e(minentissimis) v(iris) item amicis et princ(ipibus) offic(i)or(um) sed(isset) in aud(itorio), admitti iussit Aur. Carzeum Sergi defen(sorem) Go[har(ienorum)]'. In what follows, the speeches are all in Greek, but the framework is Latin: 'Aristaenetus d(ixit), Antoninus Aug. d(ixit).'

The Dmeir inscription and 3019 have an obvious similarity of outline: consular date; the emperor takes his seat in a particular building; he orders a petitioner to be admitted. 3019 differs in some respects: (a) the 'Latin' parts are rendered into Greek; (b) the emperor is called *καίσαρ*, not by the long or short form of his Roman titulature; (c) matter is omitted in line 13; (d) the petition is summarized, not presented in direct speech. Our text, then, if it does derive from the *commentarii*, has been adapted and abridged. Since the copy is an amateur one, made presumably for someone with a single interest in the pigmen, this is not surprising.

There are more consequences for the history of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. It seems to me quite certain that the earliest pieces (those concerned with events of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and copied not long after those events) derive quite closely from authentic records of proceedings: see the embassies to Augustus in 2435 verso and 3020. Later examples are more suspect, because their framework is more elaborate and their speeches more polished; they have even been thought to be entirely fictional. 3019 can hardly be part of the *Acta*. But it may be taken to show that, in Alexandria at least, records of imperial proceedings were accessible; and to illustrate the sort of adaptation which even a non-partisan excerptor might produce.

↓ .ογω
 Σεουήρω καὶ Οὐικτωρεί-
 νω ὑπάτοις πρὸ ζ̄ εἰδῶν
 Μαρτίων ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
 5 δρέα. καῖσαρ κατίσας
 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ με-
 τὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν
 εἰς τὸ συμβούλειον κε-
 κλημένων ἐκέλευ-
 10 σεν εἰσκληθῆναι πρέσβεις
 Αἰγυπτίων τὰς
 κοινὰς ἀξιώσεις προ-
 φέροντας. μετ' ἄλλα ἀ-
 ξιώσαντος Διονυσί-
 15 ου περὶ τῶν κυοφορ-
 βῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς γε-
 οργοὺς ἤδη γενέσ-
 θαι πρὸς τὴν συγκο-
 μιδὴν τ[
 20 ηδητικ[
 .α.[.]ει.[
 ασε.[

2 οὐϊκ-

3 ὑπατοις

5 1. καθίσας

16-17 1. γεωργοὺς

'... Consulship of Severus and Victorinus, 7th day before the Ides of March, at Alexandria. Caesar took his seat in the court-house with his friends and those who had been summoned to the council, and ordered that the envoys of the Egyptians, who were putting forward their common requests, should be called in. After other matter: Dionysius having made a request about the swineherds, because the farmers (?) were already engaged in bringing in the harvest... Caesar said (?): "...".

1 .ογω: ο is a right-hand arc; there is a spot of ink within, but apparently not enough for θ or φ. γω might perhaps be πμ; but there is no trace of any following letter. Before ο a descender; this was the first letter, if the line began in normal alignment; but a trace to the left, on the edge of the papyrus, may not be accidental. I can make nothing of this. It is not a file number; nor apparently part of the consular date.

2-4 The date is 9 March 200; towards the end of Severus' stay in Alexandria as the dated rescripts reveal it (PColApokr. pp. 27 and 30).

6 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: nothing is known of this building, except that it was in the centre of the city (Strabo 17. 1. 10).

6-9 The *consilium* consists of two groups. The *amici* were part of the court, and travelled with the

emperor; on Severus' friends see Crook, *Consilium Principis* 84–5. The rest were specially summoned: probably (as Dr. Millar suggests) local notables, whether Romans (praetorian tribunes etc.) or Alexandrians. A similar distinction is made in the *Acta Athenodori* (Musurillo X 61–3), where the emperor summons senators and *amici*.

11 *Αἰγυπτίων*: includes the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the *chora*: see 2664 3 note; PColApokr. line 6, where Alexandrians and Egyptians seem to make up the whole population of the country.

12 *κοινά*: as opposed to those of individuals, who had been presenting their petitions in court nome by nome (705 36 ff.).

15 ff. Pigs were an important foodstuff, especially for the provisioning of Alexandria (W. Chr. 428; PGiss. 40 ii 18), especially too with the court in residence. But what connection have they with the harvest? (a) Pigs had at one time been used for the threshing, Hdt. 2. 14. 2 and PEdgar 49; Schnebel found no evidence for this practice in the Roman period (*Landwirtschaft* 174). (b) Pigs might be a hazard to the harvest: in the petition BGU 757 (A.D. 12) Heracles complains that two swineherds have turned their herd on to his field and fed them with the new sheaves.

A situation is easily constructed: fodder will be at its scarcest at the beginning of the harvest; the pigmen, under pressure to provide, will be at their least scrupulous. But most of this would have to come in lines 19–20; and it gives no obvious background for a repeated ἦδη (17, 20).

18–19 *συγκομίδην*: c. τῶν καρπῶν PPreis. 4. 10, elsewhere absolute.

20 *ἦδη* again? The final trace is an upright; perhaps the trace of a junction at mid height (η, ρ).

21 α. [.] *ει*, [: the letter after *ει* is π or τ. Probably καὶ[*ς*(αρ)] *εἰπ*[*εν* or καὶ[*ς*αρ] *εἰπ*[*εν*: the imperial decision must come somewhere in these last three lines, unless the text extended to a second column.

22 α*ει*, [: most like α*ει*κμ[.

3020. LETTER OF AUGUSTUS AND PROCEEDINGS OF EMBASSY

Plate X

34 4B.73/E (1) a

Fr. 1: c. 22 × 9.8 cm.

Earlier first century

This piece contains, in fr. 1, the upper part of two columns, each more or less at full width; fr. 2 comes from the head of a further column. The back of both fragments is blank. The hand is an ugly, irregular half-cursive of early Roman type (probably the same throughout, though its appearance alters after ii 7, when the scribe changed to a much sharper pen). Characteristic letters are: α with both pointed and rounded bow; ε with detached cross-bar; divided κ; deep μ; ω in three movements, middle stroke slanting to the left. Compare 2435 and the dated parallels listed in the introduction. Writing like this is not likely to be later than the mid first century.

The scribe has vulgar spellings at fr. 1 i 6 *λελοιπηκέμαι*, ii 7 *πόλεος*, ii 8 *ἀπολλωγχαμ*-. There is no punctuation.

Fr. 1 col. i gives the beginning of a letter from Augustus to Alexandria; the letter, dated 10/9 B.C., reports an audience given to an Alexandrian embassy. Col. ii is a protocol: proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy before an emperor. No doubt it is the same embassy in both. The reply to its representations, and the representations themselves, were copied side by side, or perhaps consecutively (ii 1 note).

The letter is of standard type: Augustus replies to a Sardinian or a Cnidian embassy in much the same terms (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* nos. 99 ii and 312); similarly Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, PJews 1912. Only the preliminary clichés survive. The envoys had sought out the emperor in Gaul, and presented their instructions; in

particular, they rehearsed the city's grievances of past years. The emperor replies (perhaps) that he had already considered the problem.

When col. ii begins, the exegete has taken the floor. He starts his speech by introducing the envoys; they have divided the business of the embassy among themselves, Theodorus to speak about Egypt, Harpocrates about the Idios Logos, the exegete himself about the city; they have not come to defend themselves, but to require . . .

This all belongs in the context of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Two pieces are especially relevant: 2435 and PSI 1160. Both, to judge from the hand, were copied about the same time as 3020.

2435 verso records another audience given by Augustus (in A.D. 12/13) to Alexandrian envoys.¹ Here too the hand is crude, and the spelling shaky.

With the *Boule* papyrus, PSI 1160 (Musurillo, *Acta* I; *CPJ* ii 150), there is a link of matter. The speaker there lists the advantages of a *boule*: among them, protection *εἴ τις καταβαροῖτο παρὰ λόγον πραττόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδί[ο]υ λόγου ἢ τινος πράκτορος ἀνθρώπων διασείοντος*. The Idios Logos is again complained of in 3020 fr. 1 ii 6. This is historically intelligible. We know that Augustus introduced a comprehensive rule-book, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*; and the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (SB 8444. 41 ff.) gives a picture of the activities of informers attached to the department. It is likely enough that a stricter interpretation and more energetic pursuit of *τὰ εἰς καίσαρα πίπτειν ὀφείλοντα* (Strabo 17. 1. 12), after the general chaos of the late Ptolemies, would greatly embarrass many prominent Alexandrians. 3020 refers to these early embarrassments; so probably does PSI 1160 (for the date, see *CPJ* ii p. 27). The edict shows that the situation persisted.

3020, 2435, and PSI 1160 form a group. Two of them, and probably all three, contain Augustan material. All three were copied at a date very little later than the events described. 2435 and PSI 1160 are headed with a file reference, which implies an official source;² 3020 juxtaposes its proceedings with what has all the appearance of an authentic imperial letter. There is everything to be said for taking this earliest group of *Acta* as strictly documentary.

Later *Acta* no doubt expanded and were coloured with time; the existence of recensions shows this. But the documentary basis remains. 3020 confirms that extravagant titles and bald assertiveness are not always fictional (fr. 1 ii 1 and 8); 3019 shows how material could be obtained, and how it was adapted.

¹ The recto records Germanicus' reception in Alexandria. We now have a name for such documents: *ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν* (2725 21).

² Turner indeed argues that PSI 1160 is translated from a Latin original (*JRS* 45 (1955) 119).

Fr. 1 Col. ii 1 .[: rounded back as of $\epsilon\theta o c \omega$ 3 .[: upright sloping strongly upwards to right
].[: high horizontal, trace of upright below; upper left quadrant of circle (perhaps with descending
 cross-bar, i.e. ϵ) 4 .[: upright]....: tip of low horizontal; descender; curved base as of c etc.
 5]....: descending oblique joins upright at middle height 6].: high horizontal joining upright
 (π or τ) 7].: horizontal joining ϵ at middle height ζ, ρ : high horizontal, perhaps trace of
 upright below 1. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega c$.[: horizontal as of τ 8 1. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$]....: low curve and
 cross-bar as of ϵ or θ ; foot of upright 9 τ .[: left-hand arc as of o].[: upper curve as of o or c
 11].: high horizontal as of τ 12]....: second is lower curve of o or c ; then upright with
 traces above to left (v ?); then ϵ or θ ; then point at line-level, and junction like right side of η or π
 .[: tip as of τ

Fr. 2

1 .[.]....[$\omega\nu$ [
] $\phi\epsilon\nu$. $\alpha\kappa$...[
].... $\nu\tau\alpha$ [
].... ν . α ...[
 5].... α .[
].[.].... c .[
].... $\alpha\nu$... ov .[
]....

Fr. 2 1]....: probably lower half of η ; then upright and traces of another, sloping up from left
 to right (e.g. $\eta\mu\omega\nu$) 2...[: first is o or ω 4 ν . α : long top joining slanted upright (τ ? χ ?)
 ...[: first is sloping top as of τ 5]....: first is right-angle, perhaps γ]....: first is top of up-
 right; then π or τ ; fourth perh. λ α .[: ν or λ .[6]....: curving leg as of η , π 7 ... ov .[:
 flat base; before o perhaps κ or c ; after v back of round letter ($\delta o\kappa o\nu c$?)

Col. i 'Imperator Caesar Augustus Pontifex Tribuniciae Potestatis XIV Imperator XII to the
 people of the Alexandrians, greetings. The envoys whom you sent came to me in Gaul and delivered
 your other commissions and also informed me of the things which seem to have aggrieved you in
 previous years...'

Col. ii 'The Exegete: "Caesar, unconquered hero, these (are?) the envoys of the Alexandrians;
 and we (?) ... have divided up the embassy among ourselves (according to the subjects?) about which
 each of us is able... Theodorus about Egypt... Harpocrates (?) about the Idios Logos... I
 about the city ... not to defend ourselves (but to require?) of you (your imperial?) intervention...'

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 $\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$: simple error for $\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho$.

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\epsilon[\rho]\xi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: there is no space for $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. So e.g. the letter to Sardis, Ehrenberg and Jones,
Documents 99 ii.

2 $\tau\acute{o}$ $\iota\delta'$: 1 July 10 B.C. to 30 June 9 B.C.

3 $\tau\acute{o}$ ι β' : the remaining trace of the numeral seems at first sight to be an iota. But (a) this leaves
 the line a little short; (b) *trib. pot.* XIV should correspond to *imp.* XII or XIII (Mattingly and Sydenham,
Roman Imperial Coinage i 45); and XIV itself cannot be emended, because it fits exactly with the visit
 to Gaul (4 note). I therefore take the trace to be the right side of a cursive beta; the point of ink
 visible on the broken edge to the left must then be the tip of the other side.

$\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$: $\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$ $\tau\eta$ $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ PJews 1912. 15 f., letter of Claudius, and PUG inv.

8562 v., letter of Nero (see *SDHI* 36 (1970) 414 f.); something equally brief in damaged letters of Gaius and of Trajan (Musurillo, *Acta* III iii 27; 3022 4). Greek cities are normally addressed with the formula ἄρχονσι βουλῇ δήμῳ or ἄρχονσι βουλῇ: thus Sardis and Cnidus in letters of Augustus (Ehrenberg and Jones 99 ii and 312); Antinoopolis in letters of various emperors (PStrass. 130; PAnt. 191); the Egyptian metropoleis after Severus (e.g. CPHerm. 121. 8). But Alexandria is singular, and the form of address emphasizes the fact: no *archontes*, no *boule*. For the spelling in -ελων, see Mayser I² i (ed. Schmoll, 1970) 43.

4 εἰς Γαλατείαν: Dio 54. 36. 4 and Orosius 6. 21. 22 mention the visit of Augustus to Gaul, apparently in 10 B.C. The Alexandrian envoys travelled until they caught up with him: cf. Millar, *JRS* 56 (1966) 163.

For the general outline, cf. the letter to Sardis: οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν . . . συνέτυχον ἐν Πάμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ψήφισμα ἀπέδοσαν δι' οὗ τὰ τε δόξαντα ὑμεῖν περὶ ὑμῶν δηλοῦντες καὶ συνήδεσθε κτλ.

7 The simplest reading would be ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε[ν] ἔτρευν ἡδηλωσαν (l. ἐδήλ-).

ἔτρευν: there is a vertical trace below ε to the left; and a higher short vertical seems to close it on the right. Perhaps the scribe wrote ετειν, and corrected ν to ει.

ἡδηλωσαν: perhaps for ἐδήλ-. (A mis-spelling; the phenomenon of double augment is too rare to make a good explanation, see Mayser I. 2. 94.) The alternatives are: (a) to write ἡ or ῆ δηλώσαν[τες]; but I see no construction; (b) to assume corruption: Turner suggests ἡδ<η ἐδ>ήλωσαν (cf. 8 f. note).

8 f. Assume that εἰ is for ῆ, and ἡμετε- for ὑμετε- (the emperor would say ἐμούς); we need a masculine plural noun; perhaps then e.g. πρό[τε]ρον εἰ τοὺς ἡμετέ[ρους] πρέσβεις προσελθ[εῖν], 'I had heard of (taken thought for) these things before your embassy arrived.' If this approach is right, we need a plain aorist (without ῆδη) in 7; and a new sentence begins with 8.]ωι looks like a dative, but the iota may well be another mis-spelling (ἐγ]ώι etc.). Further uncertainties:]ειν, even supposing it to be an infinitive, need not depend on πρότερον ῆ; what follows may or may not begin a new clause, see 9 note.

9 τηδεο . . . : τῆς δεο . . . , τῆδε ο . . . , τῆς δὲ ο The first leads nowhere; δεούς[ης] is excluded by the υ. For the rest, the trace suggests ος . . . [or (perhaps better) οθ . . . [.

10 καταλεξ[ε]: κατὰ λεξ[ε] or κατ' Ἀλεξ[ε].

11 οἰς, with a low ligature between ο and ι, looks a better reading than πικ (which requires a cursive form of π not found elsewhere in the piece). ο ις- is not promising ('Ισιδ- cannot be read). Therefore οἰς; then perhaps τ . . . [.

Col. ii 1 ὁ ἐξηγητής: this indication of speaker is set out in the left margin. There may or may not have been introductory matter in the lower part of col. i. For the role of the exegete, cf. 2435 1 note.

ἀνείκητε: Julius Caesar was voted a statue with the inscription *deo invicto*, or so Dio says (43. 45. 3); but Augustus vetoed the title when it was offered to Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 17. 2), and it does not appear in the official titulary of any emperor before Commodus. Unofficial usage was naturally freer: for example, Horace, *Sat.* 2. 1. 11. In the East there was the precedent of Alexander and later Hellenistic kings (PW s.v. Victor, Nachträge 2485 f.); though again I have not found ἀνίκητος attested inscriptively earlier than Trajan.

ῥωσ: the dead are regularly so called in inscriptions, but only the dead (Robert, *Hellenica* 13. 207); so in Dio Antony uses it of the dead Caesar, and Tiberius of the deified Augustus (44. 49. 1, 56. 41. 9). Only in exceptional cases were heroic honours given to the living: to Dion, Timoleon, and others (PW s.v. Heros 1139 f.). Perhaps this is the precedent for the heroizing of Augustus. It is true that later Hellenistic times assigned divine, not merely heroic, honours to living rulers. This was possible in Egypt too: BGU 1200 (2/1 B.C.) and 1143, both private documents, refer to Augustus as θεός καὶ κύριος. Perhaps the Alexandrians found this too extravagant; perhaps they intended an allusion to their founder, the Invincible Alexander, who at his tomb received heroic honours (Diod. 18. 28. 4, 2435 20).

ουτροι . . . : perhaps οὔτοί εἰσιν.

2-3 The fixed point here is ἐμερικάμεθα (i.e. ἐμερικάμεθα, or the compounds in δι-, συν-, etc.; the traces are too slight to exclude any of these). 'We have divided up the embassy among ourselves': the construction leaves no tie for ἡμᾶς; probably we should emend to ἡμεῖς. At the beginning of 3, οἰ is certain; then most obviously λ or μ (not α or δ, for the junction would show; not apparently a slanted

τ or anything similar, since no cross-bar is visible at any level). A nominative of ε[would suit the grammar.

4 υ[.]. . . υ: probably ὑπέρ ρϛ.

5] . . .: not]ν but]αι or some similar ligature, to judge from the height of the join. -α[εθ]αι could be read; but I have not found a restoration which satisfies space and syllable-division.

Θεόδωρος: not elsewhere in the *Acta*. ὑπέρ may govern Αἰγύπτου, or a further noun (which would fill the line-end neatly). E.g. ἀ[πορίας, ἀ[ξιώσεως are probably too long; Rea suggests ἀ[ρχῆς.

6 Α[.]. . . οκράτης: the spacing favours Α[ρ]ποκράτης (rather than Α[ρ]ικ[ρ]τοκράτης); neither name elsewhere in the *Acta*.

θε[.]: apparently not θεω[; perhaps θερδ[. This might be the name of a third speaker, so that the exegete is fourth and last. But I cannot find his subject-matter at the beginning of 7, where]ευστρον looks a likely reading. Alternatively, there may have been only three speakers in all; θε[. would then be governed by ὑπέρ, or attach somehow else to the Idios Logos.

8 I take the general sense to be 'we have come not to defend ourselves but to (claim our rights).' E.g. πάρες]μεν οὐκ ἀπολλωγισάμενο[ι — — δε]όμενοι δὲ σοῦ. Cf. 2435 58 λόγῳ γὰρ ὑμεῖς (1. ἡμ-) [ἴκετε]ύ-σαντες (aorist participle for future again) πάρεςμεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὺς κτλ. This may be a brusque way to address an emperor, but it is not therefore excluded. Note the Dmeir inscription (no doubt an authentic extract from imperial *commentarii*), where one of the advocates is decidedly offhand with Caracalla (SEG xvii 759. 32). The Alexandrian request was perhaps for imperial intervention: 10 αὐτοκρατορικῆς (or τῆς) ἀντιλήμ[ψεως (cf. BGU 613. 13 δεόμενος τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀντιλήψεως τυχεῖν).

Fr. 2 Nothing is certain here. It looks as if the space above line 1, and the space at the end of line 8, are blank except for stray ink: this means the top of a column and the end of a section. But even this is not secure, given the damage to the surface.

3021. *Acta Alexandrinorum*

24 3B.74/J (b)

6 × 13 cm.

First century

One side of this scrap has remains of bold first-century cursive, partly covered by an adhering layer with writing in a different hand. On the other side, written across the fibres, is 3021. Of this only ends survive; the original line-length can only be guessed, since there are no certain supplements to guide us. To the right, traces of a second column. Line 17 was probably the last of the column (the space below is not wide enough to prove it, but the disposition of the text on the front suggests that this was the original lower edge).

The text mentions Alexandrian envoys, an emperor, and the Jews: it is clearly likely to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. One of the envoys was Isidorus son of Dionysius (6). If this is the gymnasiarch of the *Acta Isidori*, we may take the emperor to be Claudius and regard 3021 as part of the same *Acta*. This view is consistent with the *terminus ante* provided by the hand, which is a decent half-cursive to be compared e.g. with that of the Ninus Romance (Roberts, *GLH* 11a) and dated not later than the first century. If it is correct, this version of the *Acta Isidori* was circulating comparatively soon after its dramatic date, and a century or more earlier than the other recensions. But of course Isidorus is a common name; an envoy named Ti. Claudius [] (5) might appear at any time after the reign of Tiberius; and the *Acta Diogenis* and *Hermiae* might be alternative locations, even among the surviving documents.

The general outline is clear: the emperor takes his seat, the envoys appear and address him. On the surface, 11–13 may claim the restoration of old Jewish privileges; 14–16 may accuse the Jews of irreligion. Both these are novelties in the *Acta*. But the space leaves wide latitude for contrary restorations. Another novelty: the patronymic of Isidorus, if this is the gymnasiarch, was not so far known.

On the history of the *Acta*, see 3020 introduction.

	Col. i	Col. ii
		
↓	] .κου[. . . .] .αρα .[	
	] .ας καὶ ἐκάθισεν	[
	] ταῦτα υ ζυ[ν]καθημε-	. [
	μ]ετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθαν	α[
5	] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος	[
	]ς Ἰσίδωρος Διονυσίου(υ)	[
	] . πρέσβεις πάντες	[
	αὐ]τοκράτωρ σεβαστέ	. [
	Ἀλεξ]ανδρέων πρέσβεις	. [
10	]αιων λέγετε	[
	]θα σε κύριε σεβαστέ	[
	] προόντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις	[
	] . α νῦν ἐστέργηται	[
	]ν ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν	[
15	] . εν τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν	[
	] κατεμπατουνται	[
	]νομενο[. .] . υ . .	[

i 6 διονυσι⁰

‘... and took his seat... his assessors (?) ... after this there entered... Tiberius Claudius... Isidorus son of Dionysius... all (the?) ambassadors... “... Lord Emperor!... ambassadors of the Alexandrians... “... (what do?) you say (about the Jews?) ...” “... (we beseech) you, Lord Emperor... preexisting for the Jews... now deprived... but of the... of the gods... in their temples... are trampled...’

1] .: an upright (ι etc.).

2] .ας: the trace is no more than a hooked foot at line-level. Ἀγρίπ]πας would be possible (he has a speaking part in *Acta Isidori* C). But ἐκάθισεν should refer to the emperor, as in *Act. Isid.* A i 16, 2435 30.

3 Perhaps μετὰ] ταῦτα υ (= οἱ) ζυ[ν]καθημέ[νοι ἐκάθισαν. The assessors are common form: *Act. Isid.* A ii 5, B i 1; 2435 34. On the other hand, they don't elsewhere appear in the prescript; and this

scribe does not elsewhere make phonetic errors. But I can find no other reading: of the crucial letters, *v* is clear and *ç* very likely.

5] *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος*: the *Acta Isid.* refer to the emperor as *Κλαύδιος καίσαρ*. This *Ti. Claudius* is more likely to be one of the party of envoys, who are listed in this line and the next: cf. *Claudius' Letter*, *PJews* 1912. 16–20.

6 *Ἰσίδωρος Διονυσίου* (*v*) may or may not be the famous gymnasiarch (who has no patronymic elsewhere in the *Acta*).

7],:]*i* or]*p*.

10 *Ἰουδαίων*? Perhaps the emperor tells the Jewish envoys to speak; and they (11–13) reply: 'We beg you to restore the preexisting rights of the Jews, of which they have now been deprived.'

11 Probably *-με]θα*.

13],*α*: the trace is of a curving foot, which joins the alpha: *ἀλλ]ὰ νῦν*, rather than], *ἄ νῦν*. On the face of it, 12–13 concern *former* privileges of the Jews, *now* taken away. But there are remoter possibilities, given the size of the lacuna.

14–16 would suit a charge of *ἀθεότης* against the Jews (see *Jos. Ap.* 2. 79 f., *Tac. Hist.* 5. 4): e.g. 'they despise the worship of the gods, keep no images in their temples, trample under foot normal usages of piety.'

15],*εν*: the trace is of *ρ* or possibly *ι*. Cf. *Tac. Hist.* 5. 5 'nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt.'

16] *κατεμπατοῦνται*: the verb is not in *LSJ* and *Suppl.* But the articulation]*κατ*' is unpromising; and *κατ* rather than *καί* is strongly suggested by the traces. *ἐμπατεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα* *Agathias* 4. 15. 7.

3022. LETTER OF TRAJAN TO ALEXANDRIA

20 3B.36/E (5–7) b

19.3 × 16.8 cm.

A.D. 98

The front of this sheet is occupied by a much-damaged private letter, hastily written with many deletions. The back was later used to copy a letter of Trajan; the copy is written across the fibres in a large crude hand (clearly not official or professional); the hand is not likely to be much later than the text itself.

The letter is an official communication to the city of Alexandria, headed with full imperial titles. It was written some time between 1 October and 9 December A.D. 98 (3 note). Its content is one of generalized benevolence: the emperor has the most friendly feelings towards the city; he and his prefect will take care for its well-being and privileges. Similar sentiments occur in other formal addresses to Alexandria: in the letters by which Augustus and Claudius replied to embassies (3020; *PJews* 1912); and two manifestos of unknown rulers, the 'Speech of Vespasian' SB 9528, and the 'Letter of Severus Alexander' SB 10295 (see now Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970) 20 ff.). Accessions are likely to call forth such diplomacy; and no doubt Trajan is here replying to a request for confirmation of the city's privileges—a request which will have reached him some months after his accession on 28 January 98. At the same time the letter introduces the new prefect in a halo of future benefits.

Trajan did in fact show some benevolence to Alexandria, at least in the construction of fountains and gates (*Dio Chrys., Or.* xxxii 95). For the rest, he figures as villain in the *Acta Maximī* and *Acta Hermaisci*. It is of course possible that 3022 was copied as

part of the *Acta* literature, not merely for its own sake. But, whatever the copyist's interest, it has all the appearance of a genuine document.

- ↓ [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανὸς]
 [Σεβαστὸς Γ]ερμαν[ικὸς ἀ]ρχ[ι]ερεῦ[ς] μέγι[στος]
 [δημαρχικῇ]ς ἐξουσί[α]ς τὸ β̄ ὑπατος Ἀλεξ[...]
 [...] καὶ τ[.]ν τῆς πόλεως η[....]
 5 [...]ς ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[αστοὺς]
 [...]ν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πα-
 [τρός μο]ν μεμνημένος ὃς παρέσχευ ὑμείν
 [...]ν. ταις πρώτ[...]. τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ
 [...]α τούτων τῶν δικαίων ἔχων καὶ τὸς
 10 [π]ρ[ὸ]ς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἰδίαν, παρεθέμην
 ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἑμαυτῷ, εἶτα καὶ τῷ
 φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Πομπείῳ Πλάντῃ,
 ἵνα μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοῇ
 ὑμῶν τῆς εὐσταθοῦς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς
 15 εὐθυγίας καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθ' ἕκασ-
 [τον δι]καίων· ἐξ ὧν εὐδὴλον οὐ[.....]
 [...]τουτο μέγιστον ἔργῳ.....[.....]
 [...]μιζοντος τουμ[.....]
 [...]μ]εταλαμβάναν.. ν[.....]
 20 []μα[]
 []ο.[]
 []..[]

10 1. ὑμᾶς

‘Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribuniciae potestatis II consul, to (the city of?) the Alexandrians... (Being well aware of) your city's outstanding loyalty towards the emperors, and having in mind the benefits which my deified father conferred on you... of his reign, and for my own part also, (over and above?) these claims (of yours), having a personal feeling of benevolence towards you, I have commended you first of all to myself, then in addition to my friend and prefect Pompeius Planta, so that he can take every care in providing for your undisturbed tranquillity and your food-supply and your communal and individual rights. From which (it will be?) clear...’

3 τὸ β̄: this term of *trib. pot.* formed a stop-gap between two different reckonings, and lasted less than three months, i.e. October to 9 December A.D. 98 (Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. x 1047f.). This conforms with the mention of Pompeius Planta as prefect (1. 12): Junius Rufus was still in office on 21 June 98

(PFamTebt. 15. 105); Planta had succeeded him by the end of 98 (Dessau 8907). The scribe must therefore have made a mistake about the consulship: ὑπατος <τὸ β> is required.

3-4 Parallel texts have Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει χαίρειν or Ἀλεξανδρείων δῆμῳ χαίρειν: 3020 i 3 n. The space here is too short for either formula, or even for Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι χαίρειν. Perhaps χαίρειν was omitted; or something was abbreviated.

4 ff. Some of the same clichés in PJews 1912. 21 ff.

4 η[: probably ἡ[μῶν, l. ὑμῶν (as in 10). In what follows, we need a noun with τ[.]ν, and a participle to govern it, e.g. καὶ τ[.]ν τῆς πόλεως ἡ[μῶν] ⁵ [εὐνοϊαν ὦ]ς ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[α]στούς] ⁶ [νομίζω]ν, or (as the Press Reader suggests) ⁵ [μεμαθηκῶ]ς and ⁶ [εὐνοία]ν. The difficulty is σεβ[α]στούς], where the supplement is about three letters more than expected; σεβ[α]στ(ούς)] might be possible; σεβ[α]στουὺς ὁρῶ]ν gives another long supplement.

8 Perhaps [πρώτῃ]ν ἐν ταῖς πρώτ[αι]ς, 'which he conferred on you recently among the first (benefits conferred) in his reign'.

9 ...]. α: not ἐνε]κα; the trace before α is apparently a flat-topped letter like tau. Perhaps με]τά.

12 τῷ φίλῳ μου: amico meo (see Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Ep.* x 7).

16 ἐξ ὧν εὐδελον: see 2664 6, note, for this formula.

17 ff. The sense was perhaps in outline: you will see clearly the attitude of an emperor who thinks (ν)ομίζοντος that his greatest task is this (τοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργον), namely that you should share... (τὸ ὑμ[ᾶς] — — μ]εταλαμβάνειν).

3023. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE AN EMPEROR

25 3B.56/H (e)

15.5 × 12 cm.

Second century

Remains of two columns, with intercolumnium and lower margin. The hand is a fine rounded one, of the same style as the Berlin *Theaetetus Commentary* (Schubart, *PGB* 31): it should belong to the second century, and earlier rather than later. The back has been reused for a much damaged text of which I can make nothing at all.

The text is a report of proceedings. The parties named are an Emperor (i 5, ii 4) and a Claudius Atilianus (ii 7); Antiochenes are involved (ii 5, if the reading is correct). Otherwise the matter is quite uncertain. Col. i perhaps mentions a woman (9) and the presentation of a ὑπόμνημα (11 ff.) by a person or group called τυρ[...] or Τυρ[...]. Col. ii concerns itself with a δικαίωμα, which has been produced against the Antiochenes.

The only firm point is Clau. Atilianus, whom I have not identified; three Atiliani are known, all of the earlier second century, one of them a consul and the other two *procuratores Augusti* (ii 7 n.). On the face of it, he speaks for the Antiochenes.

Beyond this we can only assume that Ἀντιοχεῖς is a certain reading, and speculate on this basis. The Antiochenes figure as a group: in what sort of case, is not clear. But why should Antiochene business turn up in Egypt? The most obvious congeners of this text are the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. We have no record of conflict between Antioch and the Roman authorities, except when the city adhered to Avidius Cassius. But it was rich and self-important; and under Gaius, Claudius, and Nero at least conducted a recurrent war with its Jewish colony (G. Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* 192, 199, 205). Did it develop *Acta* of its own? and did the Alexandrian Greeks take a brotherly interest in them? The *Acta Hermaisci* make an interesting comparison: here,

in proceedings before Trajan, two delegations from Alexandria appear in court; the Jewish group includes *Σώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων*; the Greeks include *Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει αὐθαίρετος συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων* (Musurillo VIII i 15 and 9). Antioch appears in our text; and *Τύρ[ιοι]* is an attractive supplement at i 12.

	Col. i	Col. ii	
	→		
	]α..[		
	...]ματο[		
	..]ασσου εν[		
	..]θενανα..[	..[	I
5	καῖσα]ρ εἶπεν· λεγεςθω	. [	
	]φος... αναγει	κη[	
	]..νουτ.[...]ψη	καῖσα[ρ] εἶπεν· τιλ[....	
	]προση.[...]θεν	Ἀντιοχεῖς προς[...]	5
	..]αικοςτουφ[	τὸ δικαίωμα	
10	...].ναπωνιν[	Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανὸς [ἀπε-	
	...].ει με υπομν.[...]..	κρίθη· θειότατε αὐτ[ο-	
	..]. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....	κρατόρων, πιστευε[	
	...].μνημα μοι δ[....	τοῦ]τῷ τῷ δικαιώμ[α-	10
	]και [μ]περι' ἐ'με.[...]	τι] ὡς ἀληθῆ ὄντι καὶ	

(ii 4 ff.) 'Caesar said: What do the Antiochenes say (?) in answer to this (?) claim?

Claudius Atilianus replied: Most divine of emperors, do you (?) put faith in this claim as if it were a true one and ...'

Col. i The speeches in col ii are set off by ecthesis and (at least between ii 6 and 7) by wider line-space. i 5 similarly follows a wide line-space, and contains the verb *εἶπεν*. The reconstruction assumes that a speech begins here, and that the line similarly projected $1\frac{1}{2}$ letters into the left margin. No other verb of speaking is visible in the lines which follow, and their spacing is normal: I assume therefore that they are all part of the same speech.

Not much is to be made of the content. If the first-person pronouns in 11–14 refer to the Emperor, the situation is one in which he has received a memorandum: 11 *υπομνη[*, 12 f. *ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....]* | [*ὑπό]μνημά μοι δ[έδωκε-?*]. A *ὑπόμνημα* plays some part in the *Acta Heracliti* (Musurillo XVIII). Otherwise we may have an appearance before a magistrate, and a woman: see 8 and 9 notes.

6 Of γ only the shaft; perhaps ι.

7]ψη: apparently not]φη.

8 *προσηλθεν* might fill the space, though the trace is rather low for λ.

9 γυ]γαικός fits neatly.

10]: a high horizontal, intersecting the top of an upright to the left: e.g. γ, but perhaps just a linking stroke.

11 Perhaps *ὑπομνη[ς]αι*.

12 τυρ[: if the articulation, and the restoration [ύπό]μνημα in 13, are right, the word should be complete in about four letters. τύραννος isn't obviously attractive. There are better chances among personal and geographical names: e.g. (given the mention of Antiochenes in ii 5) Τύρ[ιοι.

14 The last trace possibly η or κ; not ι (therefore περι ἐμὲ [rather than περιέμειν-).

Col. ii 4 τιλ[: if the next line is correctly read, one expects τί λ[έγετε or λ[έγουσιν; both give an abnormally long line, but cf. on 5.

5 Αντιοχεῖς: this is the crucial reading. τι might be ρ; but I cannot see where it would lead. ο is damaged to the right; but ε and c suit the trace less well.

προς[... : one expects προς [τοῦτο, which is again two letters longer than any of the certainly restored lines below.

7 Κλαύδιος Αττιλιανός: I cannot identify this Atilianus. *PIR* offers only (1) A 1461 C. Aurelius Atilianus: *procurator Augusti* and (if it is the same man) addressee of a rescript of Antoninus; (2) C 250 P. Calpurnius Atilianus Atticus (?) Rufus (?), consul 135; (3) V 438 L. Villius Atilianus, *equestribus militiis functus, procurator Augusti* (Hadrian). All these have official standing, and are of the same era as the papyrus.

9 πιστευε[: πίστευε, imperative? or πιστεύεις (statement or question)? or even πιστεύειν (with main verb at the end of the sentence)? Since the δικαίωμα is advanced on the other side, it seems most likely that ὡς ἀληθὶ ὄντι means 'as if it were true'; in which case the simple imperative is unlikely.

3024. LETTER OF PREFECT

21 3B.26/E (5-6) b

3.2 × 17.5 cm.

Second century

A letter from the prefect Vibius Maximus (A.D. 103/7), copied in a crude second-century cursive on the back of a now illegible document. Only line-beginnings survive.

The letter was addressed (probably) to a single strategus, and contained instructions about an individual case (3 note); edicts were mentioned (5, 10). The only real clue to content is the word *εκκηνικω*[(12). This might refer to actors, or to stage performances. In either case we might guess that the prefect concerned himself with the privileges of a Dionysiac Artist. The letter falls before the edict of Hadrian which defined these privileges in detail (2476 4); but no doubt there will have been earlier edicts, even though 2476 does not cite them; the privileges themselves certainly go back to Augustus and Claudius (2476 1-4).

At the foot of the sheet, after a space, a second hand has added five iambic lines. The subject of this text was perhaps the wrath of Ajax; there is no clue to the source or authorship. The hand is more ambitious, but still amateur.

Drama, and even tragedy, continued to exist in Roman Egypt: see Turner, *L'Ant. class.* 32 (1963) 120 ff. It looks as if 3024 belonged to a performer, interested both in dramatic privileges and in dramatic texts.

↓ ἀντίγραφ[ον
 Ο]ύβιος Μά[ξιμος
 ε]τρατηγ[...
 παραγγελ[...
 5 διατετα[

....]λοις[
]εμ.[
]τω[
 .].κ.ρι[
 10 διεταξα[
 γὰρ αὐτῷ .[
 κηρικῶ[
 τὴν ἐμὴν [
ἐδιδεμοί[
 15 (m.²) αἰαντιμικ[
 νέα φρόνησις [
 οὐ ραδίως τοδ.[
 στείχοντος [
 Ἑλλήσι θυμ[

3 The traces allow either *ε]τρατηγῶ* or *ε]τρατηγούς*. But in 14 the articulation *ἐδ<ε>ι* *κέ μοι* [looks more likely than *ἐδ<ε>ι* *κέ μοι* [; and *κε* then points to a singular addressee.

4 E.g. *παραγγ<ε>ίλ[αι*.

5 E.g. *διατετα[γμένα*, cf. 10.

9 *τ]οῦ κυρί[ου* could be read.

11 *αὐτῷ*: the short space which follows implies a word-end here.

12 *κηρικῶ* or *κηρικῶν*. In published papyri, the word occurs only in the prolix titulature of the artistic-gymnastic games at Panopolis (2476 18 etc.) and Oxyrhynchus (BGU 1074. 16 etc.), the first founded in A.D. 265 and the second in c. 275. The noun *κηρικός*, 'actor', occurs in literature.

15 *Αἴαν* or *Αἴαντι*; *αἴαν* is equally possible in itself, but Ajax suits line 19. Perhaps *Αἴαντι μὴ κ*].

17 *οὐ* or *οὐ*.

3025. LETTER OF EPISTRATEGUS

19 2B.74/L (a)

18.7 × 15.5 cm.

17 July 118

This letter is introduced by a proclamation (*πρόγραμμα*) of the strategus, who had been ordered to display it publicly. The letter itself (7 ff.) is concerned with liturgical appointments. That the epistrategus played some part in these was already well known: see N. Lewis, *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 339 ff. 3025 adds two new pieces of information. First, the epistrategus had recorded the names of those appointed in his *commentarii*, which were (as usual) on public display; it is implied that no other notification might have been made. Second, the epistrategus insists that all the appointees have had their qualifications properly examined, in accordance with the prefect's instructions (14 f.). These *ἐντολαί*, otherwise unknown, of Q. Rammius Martialis, were presumably similar in content to those which Mettius Rufus (A.D. 89–91) issues to the strategi in SB 9050

col. v; see the discussion of Mettius' rules by A. Kränzlein, *JJP* 6 (1952) 195 ff. and E. P. Wegener, *Symb. Taubenschlag* 1. 331 ff.

The back is blank.

→ Δημ[ήτ]ριος στρατηγ[ός] Ὁξυρρυγχε[ίτο]υ.
 τῆς γραφείσης μοι ὑπὸ Ἰου[λί]ου Μαξιμιανοῦ [τ]οῦ κρατίστου
 ἐπιστρα[τήγου] περὶ κατ[ατ]άσεως πραγμ[ατ]ικῶν
 ἀντίγρ[αφον] δημοσίᾳ π[ρο]έθηκα ὥς [έκε]λεύσθη,
 5 ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι ἃ δ[ι]ετάξατο. ἔτους δευτέρου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρ[αιαν]οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κγ.
 Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Δημητρίῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρρυγχείτου χαίρειν.
 εἰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνη[μ]ατισμῶν οὐς προτέθεικα
 δῆλα ἔσται τὰ τῶν κατ[α]σταθέντων εἰς τὰς πρα-
 10 γματείας ὀνόματα, οὐ περιεσσὸν ἡγησάμην τὸ καὶ διὰ
 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι φανερά, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν
 βούλομαί σε ἐν δημοσίῳ [πρ]οθεῖναι τόπῳ· πέπειςμαι
 γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὥς ὑπο-
 λαμβάνω ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεθ' ἧς προσῆκεν ἐξετάσεως
 15 ἀκολούθως τα[ῖς] τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἐντολαῖς

.

7 στρδ

'Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite:

I have put on public display, as instructed, a copy of the letter written to me by Julius Maximianus the most excellent epistrategus about the appointment of officials, so that every one may know the regulations he has made. Second year of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 23.

"Julius Maximianus to Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Even though the names of those who have been appointed to the offices will be clear from the day-books which I have displayed, I have thought it not superfluous to announce them in this letter also, which letter too I wish you to display in a public place. For I am persuaded that all those appointed by me . . . in my judgement, carefully and with the proper investigation [in accordance with] the commands of the most excellent prefect . . ."

1 The first three words make a complete prescript, as e.g. P^Iand. 140, P^Leit. 5. 19 f., P^Yale 61. This is our earliest reference to Demetrius (17 July 118); he is seen in office later in 1547 1 (23 Jan. 119) and P^Fouad 30. 1 (26 Jan. 121).

2 Maximianus is attested a month earlier by P^SI 281. 41 ff. (19 June 118).

6 Ἐπεὶφ κγ: this date fits the categories of official normally appointed by the epistrategus (see Lewis l.c.). Thus the appointments of practors regularly took place in Pachon/Payni.

3026. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

20 3B.37/D (3) a

33 × 23.3 cm.

c. 165/6

This tattered sheet contains copies of official letters: on the front two columns, the first full width; on the back a docket, written along the fibres, and a further letter in a different hand (printed below as 3027). The sheet is damaged at head and foot; to judge from the docket, not much is missing at the head, but 8 cm. or more at the foot (i 26 n.).

The correspondence is that between the Idios Logos and the strategus and royal scribe of the Metelite nome. The originals were written in the period 29 August 165 to 5 May 166 (i 6 n.). The copy was made for (or by) the strategus (i 10 ἐμοί); he was in office when the letter i 14 ff. reached him, out of office when the docket was written (*Back* 1 στρατηγῆσαντος).

i 9 begins a new section, set off by a blank line-space. The letter itself begins in i 14. Before it is an elaborate heading in three sections: the authority from whom the letter issues (9), the parties involved (10–11), summary of content (12–13). The same letter perhaps continues to ii 26; but it would be very long, and in any case the docket (*Back* 2) implies a plurality; probably we should assume a fresh start between i 24 and ii 5.

So far as can be seen, then, this is a copy of correspondence received. Other such letter-books are known, see PBeattyPanop. pp. xxi f. But the elaboration of i 9–13 is not easy to parallel. PAmh. 137. 15 is something like. Closer still is the letter published in *JEA* 55 (1969) 189, whose heading might be restored: Ὁάσεως Θηβαΐδος (administrative sector) C[εξτιλίου Ἰέρακος] (name of writer) περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων] (summary).

The actual situation presupposed in i 14 ff. is this. The Idios Logos concerned itself among other things with property which fell in to the State. The community of Hagnu in the Metelite nome had failed to report some treasury property (i 19 f.). The antarchiereus Salvius Justus had written to the strategus on 21 May 164, but received no information (17–20). Next, the eclogistes of the nome wrote requiring that copies of the reports in local archives should be submitted for inspection (20 ff.). Presumably this letter too produced no results, for Dorion now writes the present letter on the same subject. Col. ii is too much damaged to follow the further progress of this wrangle.

Salvius Justus is new to the fasti; his office has been attested so far only by SB 9016.

Col. ii

.

...[

.....[

....[

νομου[

5 ε...[

γεν[

επις[

ρομ[

νωντ[

10 ενοι[

το τοις.....[

ρισατεξητας.....[

τὰς παρ[ατε]θείσας ὑμ[ῖν]

οὐδ' αὐτὰ[ς] μέχρι δευ[

15 επισταλ[.] ὑμῖν π[

π....[.....].η[.] ποτ[

ἐπεσταλκέναι τῷ το[

ρει ἵν' ἰδῇ καὶ τὰ ἴδια μ[έρη]

γεγραφέναι ἵνα παν[

20 τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[

τ]ήν ἐξέτασιν ποιησαμ[

ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν ἵνα[

λείας μεταδῶτε ..[

τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου τήν ἐξ[

25 ἐρρωσθ(αι) ὑμ[ᾶς] εὐχομαι

(ἔτους) .. Αντωνίνου καὶ Οὐ[ήρου]

τῆς ἐπὶ 'ς το(λῆς) τὸ ἀντί[γραφον]

μέρη ἀναπληρω[

].....[

.

Back, →

- 1 Αἰλίου Διδ]ύμου τοῦ καὶ Σε[ρή]νου στρατηγῆ(σαντος) Μετηλ(είτου) [καὶ
β]α[κι]λ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) [...]] τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομ(οῦ) .[c. 22
τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λ(όγου) ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως Παχὼν (vac.) δεκάτης
τοῦ (ἔτους) Ἀντων[ίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων
3 αὐτοκρατόρων (vac.) ιδιο[

Back 1 στρατηγῆ^η μετηλ^λ β]α[κι]λ^λ γρς νδ 2 ιδιο^λ ἐπιτρο^δ

Col. i 9 ff. 'Idios Logos. (Letter) of Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, written to me and to the royal scribe. About pressing the bibliophylax to deliver reports of property belonging (to the treasury) from the inhabitants of Hagnu.

“Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, to Aelius Didymus alias Serenus, strategus, and to Dioscorus alias Anubion, royal scribe, of the said nome, his very dear friends, greetings. In reply to the letter written to . . . strategus in the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus our lords the emperors, on the 26th of Pachon, by Salvius Justus the deputy high-priest, in the matter of the inhabitants of Hagnu, who had not signified property pertaining to the treasury—no information has been given. And since in reply to my own further instructions about the submission for examination of copies of the reports which exist . . . in the local record office . . .”

i 4]κιλίου: it looks like a proper name. Note that] Cιλίου is not a possible reading (L. Silius Satrianus, Idios Logos in 164 or 165).

6 f. The docket, Back 2-3, seems to repeat this, which suggests that the beginning of this column too is a general title for the collection which follows. The legible parts of the two passages supplement one another to give the date, Thoth (1) to Pachon 10, 29 Aug. 165 to 5 May 166.

7 5 (ἔτους) .[: we expect imperial titles, as in 17 f.; the formula may end before the lacuna ends, or project beyond it (αὐτοκρατ[όρων] ἡμερα). ἡμερα is unexpected but unavoidable; the next word begins with a rounded letter (ε, ο, c). Rea suggests ἡμέρα | Ἐρμού, 'Wednesday'. In that case, a month and a numeral must precede: restore τοῦ 5 (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Πα]χὼν η ἡμέρα Ἐρμού (Πα]χὼν only *exempli gratia*; the traces are indecisive).

9-10 The eclogistae belong to the department of the Idios Logos: PRyl. 83. 18 note.

11 γραφεῖς[ης]: if a supplement is necessary, τὸ ἀντίγραφον as in ii 27.

12-13 See on 20.

13 Ἀγνοῦ: the seat of a bishopric in Coptic times, but not otherwise known from sources of the Roman period: see Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (1919) 5. It must have some connection with the Ἄγνου (Ἀγνοῦ?) κέρας, which projected into the sea east of the Rosetta mouth (Strabo 17. 1. 18). Here the town clearly lies in the Metelite nome. According to Gauthier (*Les Nomes* 144 ff.) this nome was between the Canopic and Rosetta mouths; our text shows that the nome extended east of the Rosetta mouth, or else that Hagnu lay west of it.

17 στρατηγῶ: one expects 'to X your predecessor as strategus', but I cannot read πρὸ κοῦ among the traces.

τῶ δ (ἔτει): 21 May 164: rather more than a year before the present letter.

18 f. Καλούλου Ἰούστου: not in Pflaum, *Carrières*. An account of grain from the granary of Sinary (to be published by Dr. John Shelton) mentions land (πρότερον) Σαλουίου Ἰούστου (line 254); the account dates from the reign of Severus Alexander or less probably Gallienus.

19 ἀνταρ[χ]ι[ε]ρέως[ς]: the office is attested only in SB 9016, of A.D. 160. The then holder, Ulpius Serenianus, had clearly moved on by 164. The office was no doubt that of permanent deputy to the High Priest, not of temporary substitute (διαδεχόμενος): Pflaum, *Carrières* 521 f. Serenianus climbed the hierarchy to become archiereus himself by A.D. 171. If Salvius Justus could be identified with

Salvius Julianus, archiereus in 185, we could suppose the same form of promotion; but Julianus and not Justus is read for certain in the later text (BGU 82).

20 τὰ τῷ ταμίῳ [δι]αφέρου[τ]α: so *M. Chr.* 91 ii 10. The same items are called ἀνήκοντα in 13. Reports were submitted by comogrammateis to their strategus: *W. Chr.* 172 (A.D. 196) δηλῶ μηδὲν σεσημάσθ(αι) μοι ἀνήκον τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῇ, similarly *W. Chr.* 72 and *SPP* xx 33 (priestly duties), *PIand.* 139. 24–7 (fallen trees). Cf. the monthly summaries, headed δι' ἀνηκόντων μηνὸς X, in *PIand.* 139. 12 and *BGU* 492. 3. The προσφωνήσεις mentioned in lines 12 and 22 must be reports of this kind. From our text it becomes clear that copies of these reports were lodged in the nome-archive (22); the keeper is to be made to produce them (12) for detailed vetting (23). The further stages of this vetting are illustrated by *PIand.* 139.

22 f. The years are presumably those of Pius: Mecheir 152 to Phaophi 158. The inquiry, conducted in 165/6, looks back a long way.

24 e.g.], ω τόπῳ παρατε[θ]ῆναι, [έ]δηλώθη ἐπιστα...

26 The left margin is preserved for c. 2 cm. below this line. Its lower edge might, from its appearance, be the original edge of the sheet. But the docket, assuming the supplement in line 2 to be certain, shows that at least 8 cm. of papyrus are lost below.

ii 12 ἐξήτασμένον [would fit traces and context. But I don't see how to articulate what precedes (e.g. κατεχω[ρίσατ']?).

14 μέχρι δὲ ν[or μέχρι δεῦ[ρο.

17 E.g. τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ.

18 For the formula (l. εἰδῆ) see 27 f., n.

19 ff. E.g. ἵνα πάν[τες - - οἱ] τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[οὶ - - τ]ῇν ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμ[ενοι - - .

24 E.g. τὴν ἐξέτασιν.

26 Restore Ἀντωνίου καὶ Οὐ[λ]ήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων, month, day: a line of approximately the same length as in col. i.

27 f. Cf. 18. The full formula *PGiss.* 48. 28–30: - - - ὑποτάξας ἐπιστέλλω, φίλτατοι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἕκαστος τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώσῃ. Do these lines continue a covering note, in which the letter which precedes was quoted? Or are they a memorandum of the strategus?

Back 2 For the dates see on i 6 f.

3 At the end perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου[ν λόγου.

3027. OFFICIAL LETTER

20 3B.37/D (3) a

33 × 23.3 cm.

A.D. 161–169

This letter is written across the fibres on the back of 3026; the docket to 3026 occupies the left margin.

The letter is addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, and delegates to him the decision in a law-case; the writer must be a higher official, perhaps the epistrategus. The procedure is familiar from documents which show it from the petitioner's side. Sarapion (line 2) will have delivered his petition to the epistrategus; one copy will be returned to him with the subscription μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ στρατηγῷ ἀπόδος (see *PTebt.* 327 and 439); another copy, signed, goes to the relevant strategus, together with the covering letter 3027.

3027 itself must be a copy or a draft (written on scrap paper, with a date which lacks the month and day). Probably it is a draft: this supposition explains the partial dating and the subscription (9–10). The letters on the other side are certainly copie

Both sides are of about the same date, though written by different hands; the connection between them may be that one and the same official had an interest in all the business involved.

The text gives a new context to the phrase *μηδενός ἐπεχομένου*, and perhaps throws some light on its meaning (5 note).

↓ A[c. 27 στρ]ατηγῶι Ὁξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν·
 βιβ[λιδίων ἐπι]δοθέντων [μ]οι ὑ[πὸ] Σαραπίωνος Τερεντίου γραμματέως
 πράκτορος τ[ὸ] ἕτερον σημειώμενος ἔπεμψά σοι, ὅπως διαγνῶ[ς]
 μετοξὺ αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ] ο[ὗ] αἰτιάται ἑτέρου πράκτορος τὰ προσήκοντα
 5 ἀποφῆνῃ, μηδε[ν]ός ἐπεχ[ο]μένου τῶν πράσσεσθαι ὀφειλόντων.
 ἐρρωσθ(αί) σε εὖχο(μαι). (ἔτους) . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Αντωνίνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μ[ηδ]ι[κ]οῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐ[ρ]οῦ Σεβα[στ]οῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου
 space of c. 12 cm.
 (m.²) δὸς υπ[ε]ρ[] c. 40]
 10 ...[c. 40]. τεως σεση(μείωμαι)

 6 ερρωσ^θ ευχ^ο 10 σεση

‘... strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Petitions have been submitted to me by Sarapion, son of Terentius, practor’s secretary. Of these I have signed one and sent it to you, so that you can decide between him and the other practor whom he accuses, and return the proper verdict; no matter which needs to be considered is reserved from your jurisdiction (?). Year 7 (?) of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus.

(2nd hd.) Give to the assistant (?) ... I have signed (?) ...’

1 The lacuna might contain (a) the name of the writer only; (b) the name of the strategus only; (c) the names of both. (c) is the most natural; (b) would characterize an unfinished draft; (a) is quite possible, as *W. Chr.* 28 shows. The limiting factors are the initial α; and the date or possible dates of the document (see 6 note). Within the relevant period, the writer (who is presumably of higher rank than the strategus) might be the prefect (M.) Annius Syriacus (161/2–2. Mar. 164, see BGU 2058. 13), or the epistrategus Aquilius Capitolinus (2563 1); the only known Oxyrhynchite strategus is Clau. Demetrius *alias* Hermias (166–7).

5 The parallel phrases are as follows:

μηδενός ἐπεχομένου ἐντυχῇ τῷ στρατηγῶι ἀπόδος or sim.; PTebt. 327 and 439, SB 9340;
μηδενός ἐπεχομένου alone: 488, PStrass. 57 (corrected by Martin, *Archiv* 6. 217);
μηδε[ν]ός ἐπεχομ[έν]ο[ς] ὁ κ[ρά]τος ἐπιστρά(τηγος) εἴ[ς]εται [ὅπο]ι[α] [...].[.] ἐστ[ί]ν ἡ ἀξίωσις 2131 19
 (amended from POslo III 81. 6).

In all these the formula constitutes the subscription of a petition; and in all the case is certainly or probably being referred from a higher official to a lower one. Hunt (2131 19) translates ‘without pre-

judice to anything . . .'; LSJ *ἐπέχω* IV c 'no objection being taken'; the *WB* takes the verb as middle, 'Einspruch erheben' (and *μηδενός* must then be personal). Our text is unique in adding *τῶν πράξεσθαι ὀφειλόντων*, which does at least make it clear that *μηδενός* is neuter. I guess that the meaning is 'no necessary procedure being reserved', i.e. that the investigation and decision is put entirely in the hands of the strategus. But *ἐπέχειν* has many ambiguities.

6 (ἔτους) .: the year-sign is clear; just after the vertical a long high oblique, descending gently to where the papyrus breaks off; then traces of ink below the gap. Of the numerals possible within this nine-year reign, α, δ, and ζ might suit the traces: 161, 163/4, 166/7. It could be argued that all but the last is excluded, because the recto text mentions the 4th year of the same emperors (163/4) and a 6th year probably of the same reign (165/6) (3026 i 17, i 7). But even if we allow that 3027 was copied later than 3026, there is no proving that the originals were copied in their chronological order. The question remains open.

9 Perhaps δὲς ὑπ[ηρέτη.

10 Perhaps διὰ X γραμμ]ατέως.

3028. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

23 3B.13/E (3) a

15.5 × 34 cm.

Earlier 3rd century

Remains of one column of writing, preserved to full height. The papyrus was cut down, and the back reused for 3048; consequently we have only part of what must originally have been very long lines. The main text is written in a handsome third-century cursive. A scribble in the upper margin probably refers to the proclamation on the back (3048 introd.).

The text is a letter or petition. It is addressed to a *μεγαλειότης* (6), probably the prefect. Its date depends on three indications: (1) 3048 on the back dates from A.D. 247; (2) Herennianus (10) is likely to be the iuridicus and acting prefect of 225; (3) accordingly the 12th year mentioned in l. 19 is likely to be 12 Alexander Severus, A.D. 232/3, rather than 12 Septimius Severus, A.D. 203/4; 12 Gallienus can be excluded under (1). 3028 therefore belongs between 232/3 and 247.

The writer was apparently responsible for the collection of taxes in wheat; he claims to have been very diligent (15–18), but strictly legitimate in his methods (23); others blamed him (2) as reckless and unjust (5, 7). Arrears are still owing, and he reserves the right to complete collection (25–6). It might be inferred that the writer is a *πράκτωρ ciτικῶν*. The details of the affair remain obscure. But three points are of some interest: the Oxyrhynchites bewailing their ruin (8); the sending of troops (12), presumably to help in the collection; and the reference to threshing floors (13), which might mean that the harvest was kept at the floor until the government had taken its due—a practice attested for Ptolemaic Egypt, but not evidenced in Roman Egypt before 1255 of A.D. 292.

→] κύριέ μου τῇ δ['] τοῦ Χοιὰκ μηνὸς δι' ὧν ηθ.[
]ει σου προσενεχθεῖσαν κατὰ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεω[ς
]ετι καὶ δηλώσας ἃ ἔγραψας αὐτοῖς ἐν οἷς . . ατο . . [
]υς ἐλῆσθαι τοὺς καταστηχομένους ἐπὶ τουσου[

- 5] .μοι ἀρμόσασθαι τῇ ἀπαιτήσε[ι] ὥς μὴ δικαίαι[
μεγ]αλειότητί σου δηλῶσαι προήχθην πᾶν τὸ ἐν[.
] .ντων ἔργων ὥς οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα [
] .σιν ὀδυρόμενοι ἀνάστασιν Ὁξυρυγχεῖτα[.
ἐλ]πίδος ἀποκοπίσῃς τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλ[λ]ον καὶ πρὶν ἡλαμπ[
10]ω Ἑρεννιανῶ ὥς αὐτός φησιν δι' ὧν ἐπεστειλ[
]τατω ταμείῳ ὥς ἂν ἐπίτροπος τῇ' ἀπαιτήσῃ .π. .[
στρατι]ώτας διδούς καὶ δεκαδάρχας π[έ]μπων καὶ αὐτο[.
]α πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλωνιῶν ἔν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τω[
] .ναι τὸν ἴδιον κανόνα καὶ εἰ μὴ [ῆ]ν φορτικὸν κα[
15]σας μοι ἐπιστολὰς ἵσως δι[. .] .ην ἐπαγρυπν[
ἐ]νγράφως μὲν ἐνετελλόμεν[ν] ἀ]πειλῶν δε ου[.
] ἐνεκείμην ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω [τ]αῦτα προς[
]α αὐτὰ διετέλουν λαβὼν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τοῦ κρατί[στου
] ὀλοκλήρους τοὺς σειτικοὺς φόρους τοῦ ἱβ[(ἔτους) ἀπαιτ[
20] βουλευτὰς ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ποιήσασθαι[.
τ]οῖς γενομένοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἃ καὶ ὑπέταξεν [
γ]ραφέντα μοι ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ ἐπισταλέντα [
]α ὥς ἐγὼ μὲν ὀδῶ νομιμωτάτῃ τῆς ἀπαι[τήσεως
] ἐτίθεντο τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτίκα μάλα τῆς μη[
25]ων ὀφειλομένων τῷ ταμείῳ μετὰ ταῦτά μου [
] ἐμοῦ κυρίου περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου τὴν ἀπαίτη[σιν

16 ἐ]ν' γραφῶς

1 ηθ[: the scribe has a tendency to divide his words; and here θ is slightly spaced from η. Therefore e.g. ἡ θε[ία πρόνοια rather than e.g. ἡθε[λε].

2 E.g. ἀξίωσιν τῇ τάξ[ει] (or τῷ μεγέθ[ει]) σου προσερχθεῖσαν.

3 . . ατο . . : perhaps κ[. .] ατο[ν]ο[μ] . .

4 τουσου[: again, the scribe has left a space, which suggests τοῦ σου[rather than τοὺς ου[.

6 μεγ]αλειότητι : applied to emperors, prefects, and catholici. Here presumably the prefect, since the office of catholicus was not created until c. 245 (JRS 57 (1967) 138).

9 λαμπ[: π is almost certain (not β). πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[? πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[?

10 Ἑρεννιανῶ : 3076 introduction.

11 E.g. τῷ ἱερῷ]τάτῳ ταμείῳ. After ἀπαιτήσῃ, ἀπό corrected to ἐπὶ or ἐπὶ corrected to ἀπό; then most probably π or τ.

15 E.g. πεμφθεῖ]σας.

δι[. .] .ην : the trace after δι excludes διὰ τῆν; and δε τῆν looks short for the space. Perhaps διπλῆν ἐπαγρυπν[ίαν, though the trace is rather long and flat for λ.

19 ἱβ[(ἔτους) : if β is right, it was written in the open-topped cursive form; the upper parts of the verticals are preserved, with (apparently) blank papyrus above (therefore not ε or θ) and at line-level (therefore not α).

24 Again, a space before ἐτίθεντο.

26 E.g. μένοντος] ἐμοῦ κυρίου.

3029. LETTER TO STRATEGI

8 1B.190/G (a)

8.8 × 14 cm.

Valerian

This letter is preserved to full height; but a large part, perhaps two-thirds, of each line is lost. The back of the sheet has been reused for an account of wine. The handsome upright hand has affinities with the Chancery type.

The letter is addressed to the strategi of three or more specified nomes. The writer (perhaps the prefect) gives them instructions which involve an *opiniator*. The outline situation can be reconstructed from several letters in PBeattyPanop. 2. The *opiniator* is sent to collect money for the issue of military pay and donatives. Here some payment is due for Mesore (3); and there is perhaps to be a donative for some festival in honour of a Valerian (5-6).¹ The document makes it clear that neither the *opiniator* nor his missions was an innovation of Diocletian.

→]^x_ρ
 ε]τρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων ν[ομῶν
]ων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεσορῆ μ[ηνός
]εντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπιω[
 5 τ]ῆς εὐτυχαστάτης ἡμέρας [
] Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου
 (m.²) ἐρρωσθαι ὑμ]ᾶς εὐχομαι
 (m.¹)]ιτου Κυνοπολίτου ἄνω

2 υπογεγραψ

1 Presumably](ἑκατονταρχ). This cannot be the addressee: only one centurion is involved (4), but the greeting (7) is to a plurality. The strategi, then, are the addressees: for the form, with the list of nomes at the end, cf. e.g. PBeattyPanop. 2. 32 ff. Line 1 will have contained the name of the centurion who carried this letter of authorization with him.

To the right is an isolated trace, most like the lower part of a small *chi*.

3 E.g. τῶν ὀφειλομένων.

4 E.g. τῷ ἀποσταλ]έντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπιω[ιάτορι. On the *opiniator* see PBeattyPanop. 2. 41 note.

5 ἡμέρας: donatives for the birthday and *dies imperii* of Diocletian, PBeattyPanop. 2. 162 etc.; for the third consulship of Constantius and Maximian 2. 267.

6 τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου: 'the elder' (as distinct from his grandson)? or 'the senior Augustus' (as distinct from Gallienus)? For the second cf. PBeattyPanop. 2. 163 etc. Alternatively, the reference might be to the younger Valerian, as elder son of Gallienus. The word does not occur in any of the titulatures of the Valeriani collected by Bureth, *Titulatures impériales*.

8]ίτου: perhaps 'Οξυρυγχ]ίτου, since it lies immediately to the North of the Upper Cynopolite. There will have been at least one more nome before this (the Heracleopolite?), since the initial lacuna must be long enough to contain the name and title of the writer in line 2.

¹ Dr. Rea refers to 1185 29 for a βασιλέως ἑορτή of the same reign (on the date of Magnus Felix, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 120).

15 φανεραί [οι γ]ενήσονται· εἰ δὲ μή, εἴςθι ἀρκούμε-
 νόν με [τῷδε τῷ ἐ]πιστάλματι. (m.³) ἐρρῶ-
 cθαί [cε ε]ῖχ[ο]μαι, φίλτ(ατε).

(m.⁴) (ἐτους) ιε' Α[ὐτοκρατ]όρων Καϊσάρων Λουκίου Σεπτ[ι]μίου
 Σεουήρ[ου Εὐ]σεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Μ[εγίς]του καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίν[ο]υ
 20 Εὐσεβοῦ[ς Σε]β[α]στῶν Φ[α]ρ[μ]ουθι ε.

(m.⁵) δι' ἀρὺπ' Παχῶ(ν) κ-
 Back, → βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) Θεμ(ίςτου) μερίδ(ος)
 ↓]....οcβ..

1 βασι^λ 2 βασι^λ γρα 3 αρ^c θεμις^τ μερι^δ 4 -ματος: ο corr. from ε, crossed out, small ο
 suprascript 8 üπ 10 εγ'κτ- 21 παχ^ω

‘(6th hd.) . . . Pauni 12.

Ammonius, royal scribe . . . to (. . . ?) the royal scribe of the (2nd hd.) Arsinoite, Themistes division, (1st hd.) his very dear friend, greetings. Since the . . . tax which is exacted over a period of four years has lapsed with the term of years in the present year, I am writing to you, friend, so that you may indicate to me the documents transacted in your office up to the present relevant to this nome, with a view to my carrying out the consequent procedure. Such as have been made known here by (?) the *bibliophylax enkteseon* relating to other nomes up to the present, these have been reported to those whom they concerned; and if any relating to the nome in your charge are handed in even at this late stage, they will be reported to you. Otherwise, be informed that this missive suffices me. (3rd hd.) I pray for your health, my very dear friend. (4th hd.) Year 15 (?) of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti, Pharmouthi 5.

(5th hd.) . . . Pachon 20

(Back) To the royal scribe of the Themistes division . . .’

1 The reconstruction of this line must begin from the word after βασιλ(ικ). Clearly it was some writing of γραμματεῦς. We might consider (a) γρα[ς] . . . εως; (b) γραμ[ς] . . . εως; (c) γραμματεως. The difficulty with (a) and (b) is, that no nome will fit the traces which follow. There is nothing to suggest -είτου; no trace lies so high as to suggest an abbreviated form. The spacing points to a word-end after -εως. But Ὀάσεως will not do, since the letter before εως is almost certainly τ (the cross-bar, and the top of the vertical); and γρα[ς] ματτεως (or β- or κ-), or γραμ[ς] τεως, lead nowhere. I therefore suggest (c), for want of anything better. Against it at least two objections: the genitive must be assumed to be a mistake; the double μ is cramped, and α following has an anomalous shape with a curved linking stroke at the top. If it is right, we expect a nome-name to follow. The next trace strongly suggests η or ι; it would be possible to read Ἡ[ρ]ακλ(είδου) [μερ(ίδος) or Ἡ[ρ]ακλ(εοπολ(ίτου)).

2 The Themistes and Polemo divisions were united under a single strategus as early as A.D. 138. Each had its own royal scribe: last attested for the Polemo division in 208, for the Themistes in 207 (the present document).

The first hand left a blank between γρα(μματεῖ) and τῷ [φιλ(τάτω)]; a second hand added the nome. This suggests a circular letter in several copies, each for a different addressee; and makes it unlikely that the personal name of the addressee stood in line 1.

3 One relevant factor is missing; the name of the tax. The final trace in ἀριθμ[. . .], is too small to

be determining. For the sense I have considered two possibilities. (a) ἀριθμ[ῶ]ν: a tax for military units. I find no parallel to the expression. (b) ἀριθμ[ητ]ικ[ο]ῦ: a known tax, though expressed in unparalleled form (elsewhere ἀριθμητικόν or the plural without τέλεσμα). Against this: either the word was abbreviated (no other abbreviations in the work of the first hand), or the line was exceptionally long.

Otherwise, there are considerable advantages in identifying the tax as ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων. It was owners of catoecic land who paid this tax. They might pay tax in their own nome, and hold land in another (cf. SB 4415); transfers of such land would be authorized by the βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων; and the royal scribe kept the list of owners up-to-date (SB 4415). We could assume that the royal scribe of 3030 wishes to establish whether any inhabitants of his nome have made themselves liable to tax by acquiring catoecic land; any such acquisition within his own nome is notified through the βιβλιοφύλαξ, but for land in other nomes he must appeal to their royal scribes.

We can explain διὰ τετραετηρίδος on the same supposition. It has been deduced from BGU I 342 that ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων was levied every fourth year (Wallace, *Taxation* 179): the document is a double receipt, which records payments in 180/1 for 179/80, and in 184/5 for [183/4?]. The deduction can be extended and confirmed. If we list receipts under the year for which payment was due ('tax-year'), as opposed to the year in which payment was made ('payment-year'), we have: 104/5 PFay. 330; 131/2 PTeht. 361; 159/60 SB 8982; 163/4 SPP xxii 135; 171/2 PFamTeht. 39, PMich. IV passim; 179/80 BGU 342, BGU 816; 183/4 [BGU 342]. On the assumption that tax-year is almost always the same as payment-year, we can add: 191/2 SPP xxii 111-13, 144; 195/6 PLond. ii p. 109, 451. All these dates conform exactly to a four-year cycle 131/2, 135/6, 139/40, etc. The only exception is the earliest, PFay. 330, if correctly read: i.e. the beginning of the cycle postdates 104/5. SB 8056, for a year 11, may be assigned to 107/8 or 147/8.

This cycle coincides with that deducible from payments of γεωμετρία in PMich. IV (see PCol. V p. 275, 2847 16 n.); and with the fiscal *lustrum* of PMarmarica, on either possible interpretation (Rea, *Parola del Passato* 112 (1967) 52). PMarm. uses the term πενταετία. διὰ τετραετηρίδος in 3030 presumably refers to the same duration in a different aspect. Does it mean 'every fourth year'? or 'over a period of four years' (i.e. like the γεωμετρία this tax could be paid in instalments up to the year of the next assessment)?

On this scheme, 207/8 would be a tax-year. 3030 was written half-way through 206/7, the year in which the previous cycle terminated (4 λήξαντος). The object was presumably to tidy accounts and determine arrears for the tax-year 203/4, before the new assessment.

6 ν...ζ: we expect ἵνα τὰς. α before ζ is quite possible; but τ is excluded, indeed the ink strongly suggests χ. Dr. Rea suggests ἵν' [ἀζ] ξχ[ι]ζ. This gives admirable sense, and suits the traces; but there is not space for [ἀζ].

8 Perhaps] ἐμοί; or e.g. ταχέω]ς μοι.

10 Restore [ὑπὸ or [διὰ?

14 f. ἀρκούμενον: the phrase ἀρκουμένου μου τῇδε τῇ διαστολῇ is common enough at the end of petitions (most recently PMilVogl. III 170. 15, 180. 30). In W. Chr. 402 Aur. Hermophilus replies to a liturgical assignment (ἐπίσταλμα) from the prytanis with a formal refusal (ἀντεπιστέλλω) and an offer of *cessio bonorum*: ἀρκεσθήσομαι γὰρ τῷδε τῷ ἀντεπιστάματι ἐν μεγίστῳ δικαίωματι (col. i 19 f.). The point is the same in all cases: the present document, that is, suffices in itself to assert the subject's full rights in the situation. So in 3030 Ammonius' letter is his last word, unless further information comes to hand.

16 The restoration seems inevitable, though the lacuna after ἐρρωθεῖαι is enough for at least six letters.

17 (ἔτους) ιε': of ε the back and most of the cross-bar are missing. θ might have been considered; but the expected remains of its right-hand arc are not to be seen.

21 Παχῶ(ν) κ': the main text is dated 31 March (20); this subscription belongs to 15 May; 6 June appears in the further note in the top margin. You might expect 21 to be a record of delivery. But if so the letter took a month and a half to arrive. In any case I cannot reach a satisfactory reading of the rest of the line. δι(ὰ) [ἐ]μοῦ αρ ὑπ(ηρέτου) would suit the ink; what intervenes should be an (abbreviated?) proper name. But αρ shows no normal mark of abbreviation.

23 β. . . : βγρ- is a possible reading. Perhaps then Ἀμμ[ω]νιος β(ασιλικός) γρ(αμματεὺς).

3031. OFFICIAL LETTER OF *Procurator Alexandreae*

29 4B.46/G (1-3) a

20.3 × 13.5 cm.

c. A.D. 302

Aurelius Ammonius, the writer of this letter, is otherwise unknown. His title, *procurator Alexandreae*, has appeared in three earlier inscriptions (Pflaum, *Carrières* 1088 f.); none of these gives any clue to the duties of the office, if indeed an established office with defined duties is involved.

The addressee, Annius Diogenes, has occurred in other documents: (1) *W. Chr.* 186 and SB 4421. 6 (date lost): comarchs of Caranis acknowledge official payment for tunics provided by them (as a military requisition, cf. e.g. PCairoIsid. 54); payment was made under orders of the διασημότατος ἐπίτροπος Ann. Diogenes. (2) PSI 1125 (A.D. 302): a series of letters from Ann. Diogenes (without title) to the strategus of the Arsinoite, concerning the supply and dispatch of something; soldiers and centurions appear as emissaries. PSI 1125 shows that Diogenes held some office in 302; this accords with an unpublished text (inv. 39 5B.120/M (1-2) a), in which he appears alongside the *rationalis* Pomponius Domnus (A.D. 299-300). *W. Chr.* 186 and 3031 may belong to the same years. (MacMullen, *Aeg.* 38 (1958) 187 n. 1 and 196, dated *W. Chr.* 186 to c. 285-90; but the argument from price-trends is always treacherous.)

3031 states Diogenes' full title for the first time (and confirms a conjecture of Skeat, PBeattyPanop. p. xvi): *procurator Heptanomiaae*. The post was known from 2114 (A.D. 316), where the subject is military supplies. Diogenes similarly deals with military requisitions in *W. Chr.* 186 and PSI 1125; with a corn-transport (perhaps then with *annona militaris*) in 3031. This evidence does not support (or exclude) the view that this procurator functioned as successor of the epistrategus (Skeat pp. xvi f. points out other difficulties). His duties might be limited (say) to overseeing military supplies in the Heptanomia.

The *procurator Alexandreae* dispatched the corn-transport to his colleague, and presumably took charge of the corn when it arrived. Was his office the same as that of the *procurator ad Mercurium Alexandreae*, who certainly dealt in grain to some degree (2567 9 n.)?

The back is blank, except for the address.

→ Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξανδρείας
 Ἀννίῳ Διογένει ἐπιτρόπῳ Ἑπτανομίας χαίρειν.
 πλοῖον σκαφόπρωρον Διδύμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυ-
 ρυγχείτου οὐ κυβερνήτης Κάνωπος ἀγω-
 5 γῆς ἀρτ]αβῶν [ἐ]ξακο[σί]ων ἀ[πέστ]εῖλα πρὸς σε
]υρ. .[].. θηναί
].αι.[].. ην

(m.²) ἐρ]ρωζθαι ἐϋχ(ομαι) κύριέ μου
 ἄδελ]φε πολλοῖς χρόνοις
 10] . [

Back, →

Ἀννίῳ Διογ[ένει

'Aurelius Ammonius, Procurator of Alexandria, to Annus Diogenes, Procurator of the Heptanomia, greetings. I have sent off to you a hollow-prowed (?) boat, (property) of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, captain Canopus, capacity six hundred artabas . . . I pray for your health, my lord brother, for many years.'

6] . . θηναί: perhaps]αχθηναί.

3032. PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL LETTERS

A. B.32/A (6)

16 × 17.5 cm.

A.D. 218/19 or 222/3

This fragment contains the beginning of a covering note, in which the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton introduces letters from two higher officials. Copies of the letters will have been attached. Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 125 ff., discusses this function of the strategus. PHarris 62 takes the same form.

The hand is a large and careful one of chancery type; the general effect is much like that of 2227 (*Aegyptus* 45 (1965) pl. 5), but without the tall bipartite *epsilon*. The back is blank.

There is one point of interest: the procurator πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι, for whom see 3046 introduction.

α

→ παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρατίωνος
 στρατηγο[υ] Ὀξύρυχείτου.
 ἀ]γτίγραφον ἐπι[ς]τολῶν τῶν
 κρατίστων τοῦ τε διοικητοῦ
 5 καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι
 τῶν ἀπὸ Τῦβι α ἕως
 Φαρμο[υ]θι . . .] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 β (ἔτους) τ[οῦ] κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτο-
 ρος c. 15] . . . [. .

2 οξύρυγ'χ-

'From Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. A copy of letters from their excellencies the dioecetes and the procurator for surveys, from Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi [30] of the present 2nd year of our lord the emperor . . .'

Upper margin. α: a column number? α/ would mean ἀ(ντίγραφον), but I see no trace of the abbreviation stroke (admittedly, the surface is much damaged).

6 f. Perhaps the four months Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi 30 (the second third of the regnal year).

8 β (ἔτους): the reading is almost certain (the upper part of an open-topped cursive beta). The choice of emperor depends on the dating of the strategus Aur. Harpocraton. He is already in office in 1283, of 25 June/28 Aug. 219; still in office in 2348 52, of 12 Sept. 224. There is no reason to think that his term was interrupted (Mertens, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 351). The nearest predecessor is]oc (*Archiv* 7. 223); the composite document in whose heading he appears contains dates of 218 and of 2 Jan. 219. The nearest successor is Aur. Antyllus, attested for 13 June 225 (2566 ii 1: the restoration Ἀν[τύλ]λ[ω]ς, and the dating, are now guaranteed by XLIII 3103 of April/May 226. Within these limits two dates are possible for our document: 2 Elagabalus, A.D. 218/19; or 2 Alex. Severus, 222/3. The tiny traces in line 9 do not allow a decision.

3033. PETITION TO PREFECT

27 3B.43/B (1-2) b

13.5 × 12 cm.

c. 45/7

This petition is probably a draft, to judge from the interlinear additions in lines 4 and 9 f. The back has been reused for various pieces of writing. Along the fibres, in large formal letters: ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟC. Across the fibres are two texts in parallel columns, and a third upside-down in relation to them. The best-preserved appears to be an unfinished petition or application:] ωι² παρὰ Θέωνο(ς) τοῦ³ Πτολλίω(νος)· ὁ υἱός μου⁴ Πτολλίω(ν) ἀφήλικος ποιμ(ενικῆς?) vac.

Thaesis addresses her petition to the prefect C. Julius Postumus. She alleges that she and her elder son are being forced into slavery, and refers to an earlier petition made to the ex-prefect Marcus Heius.

Heius is new. His prefecture fits conveniently between those of L. Aemilius Rectus (last attested on 29 April 42) and of Julius Postumus himself (first attested on 8 August 45). The name was made available to Prof. Reinmuth for his new list of prefects, *BASP* 4 (1967) 80.

The transcript omits lines 8-10, of which only the first few letters are legible; and a joining fragment with nine further line-beginnings.

→ Γαίωι 'Ιουλίωι Ποστόμωι [
 παρὰ Θαήσιος τῆς "Ωρου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆ[ς
 Μικρᾶς 'Οάσεως. ἀγομένης μου σὺν τῶι [πρεσ-
 βυτέρῳ μου υἱῶι 'Φιλαδέλφωι' εἰς δουλαγωγίαν ὑπὸ [. . . .
 5 τοῦ Cεύθου καὶ τῶν τούτου ἀδελφῶν ἐ[νέτυ-
 χον Μάρκωι Εἰῶι τῶ ἡγεμονεῦ[σαντι
 ἐπὶ διαλογισμοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ[. . . .

'To Gaius Julius Postumus, from Thaesis daughter of Horus, one of the inhabitants of the Little Oasis. I was being led away into slavery, I and my elder son Philadelphus, by . . . son of Seuthes and his brothers. So I petitioned Marcus Heius the former prefect at the nome-assizes . . .'

4 εἰς δουλαγωγίαν: cf. 38 10, where the phrase is certainly literal and not rhetorical. The action involves only the elder son, which suggests that the *status libertatis* of the whole family was not in question. Perhaps mother and son had defaulted on a debt: though enslavement for insolvency is very ill attested in Greco-Egyptian law, see Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 231 f.

6 Εἴωι: for the name, see Reinmuth l.c. It appears elsewhere in Greek, but in the spelling *Ηιοc (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2. 10 f.; *BCH* 82 (1958) 562).

3034. SWORN DECLARATION

Plate XI

22 3B.14/F (7-8) b

7 × 21 cm.

5 April 148

Only the foot of this document survives: oath, date, subscriptions. The back is blank. The subscription comprises signatures of the exegete or ex-exegete, and the gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch; line 2 locates property or persons in the Cretan quarter. It seems likely that the subject was the epicrisis of a privileged metropolite. Declarations of this kind are listed by Wallace, *Taxation* 403-5, and by Bingen, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 116-17.

The interest of the piece is palaeographic. The first hand is small and sloping; β and κ have the cursive shape, but there are few ligatures; the most distinctive letter is ε, narrow and with a projecting tongue. The general effect is of a literary script; Roberts, *GLH* 15b, of similar date, makes a companion piece.

→
]. . [
 ἀ]μφόδου Κρητικ(οῦ) καὶ
 ὀ]μνύω Αὐτοκράτορα
 Κα]ίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον
 5 Α]δριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον
 C]εβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ ἀλη-
 θῆ] εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμ-
 μ]ένα. (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος
 Κ]α[ί]σαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
 10 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνεῖνου
 Cεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς
 Φαρμοῦθι ἰ. (m.²) Διονυσ()
 ἐξηγ() σεσημ(είωμαι). (m.³) Αἴλ(ιος) Διογ()
 γυμνα() σεσημ(είωμαι).

‘... Cretan quarter; and I swear by Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that the foregoing is true. Year 11 of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pharmouthi 10. (2nd hand) I, Dionys(), exegetes (or former exegetes) have signed. (3rd hand) I, Aelius Diog(), gymnasiarch (or former gymnasiarch) have signed.’

12 ff. Who are these officials? In the third century at Oxyrhynchus applications for epicrisis are addressed to a pair called οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει (Mertens, *Services* 103, 113): two former gymnasiarchs in 2186 (A.D. 260), an ex-gymnasiarch and an ex-exegete in SB 9161 and 9162 (3rd century) and PSI 457 (A.D. 269, see POxy. XL p. 19 n. 6). Before this, addressees differ:

1028 (A.D. 86) strategus, royal scribe, four γραμματεῖς τῆς πόλεως.

1266 (98) and 1452 (127/8) strategus, royal scribe, οἱ ἄλλοις καθήκει.

PSI 731 (1st/2nd) and W. Chr. 218 (132) bibliophylakes.

The signatories of 3034 might be bibliophylakes, though it is not normal to refer to their previous offices (cf. 2664 13–14 n.). Alternatively, this might be the beginnings of the third-century practice. οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει occur in the Arsinoite as early as 121/2 (BGU 109. 1).

13 Διογ(): a Diogenes, former agoranomus and gymnasiarch, appears in 2588 of the same year.

3035. ORDER TO ARREST

Plate X

19 2B.76/F (8–11) a

11.7 × 9.5 cm.

28 February 256

This document is of familiar type: see the list and discussion of the parallel texts in PMichBrowne pp. 47 ff. It is written along the fibres on a slip which is almost square; both features put it with a minority, but quite a substantial minority, of the parallels. The issuing official is specified in the heading: this is normal in the third- and fourth-century texts, though not earlier. The addressees are the comarchs and the ἐπιστάται τῆς εἰρήνης: exactly the same in 1507 and 64. But in two things 3035 does stand aside from the other such orders: it carries a precise year-date; and it comes from the prytanis. For the second I find no parallel, except one new piece from Oxyrhynchus to be published by Dr. A. K. Bowman; for the first, no parallel at all.

The back is blank.

The interesting point is the adjective attached to the name of the wanted man: Πετοσοράπιν Ὀρου χρησιανόν. I see no interpretation of this except as ‘Christian’ (4–5 n.). The question then arises, whether Petosorapis’ religion was the thing which interested the prytanis, or was merely incidental.

If the first, we might be tempted to link this piece with the persecution under Valerian. This persecution seems to have had two stages (see for the sources P. J. Healy, *The Valerian Persecution*). (1) Bishops and priests were required to sacrifice or be exiled; the holding of Christian assemblies was perhaps to be punished by death. The measures against the higher clergy had been communicated to the proconsul of Africa before (and presumably not long before) Cyprian appeared before him on 30 August 257 (Knopf–Krüger, *Ausgew. Märtyrerakten*⁴ 62). (2) The next stage, some time in 258, attacked the clergy and senators, *equites*, and *caesariani* (Cyprian, *Ep.* 80. 2). Before this persecution there had been a lull since Gallus; Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* 7. 10) dilates on Valerian’s early benevolence.

It is clear then that our text comes more than a year before legal measures were taken against the Christians; and further that Petosorapis is unlikely to have belonged to the distinguished groups which were eventually attacked. This is not to say that for particular times, places, and persons, Christian practices may not have drawn the hostile attention of the authorities. But we can deduce nothing of that from our document; even the rare intervention of the prytanis does not guarantee an exceptional situation.

On the face of it, then, 'Christian' may be no more than an individuating description: similarly other such orders specify the profession, as in 2576 πέμψον Ἐρωτα οἱ[ν] ἐμπορον. But the document still has considerable interest. It is, with PSI 1412 (see 4-5 n.), by far the earliest use of the word 'Christian' in the papyrus documents; and it suggests that Petosorapis (who like many early Christians will have found no difficulty in his theophoric name) did not conceal his religion and indeed could be identified by it among the inhabitants of Mermertha.

← π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως
 κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάταις εἰρήνης
 κώμης Μερμέρθων. ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνα-
 πέμψατε Πετοσοράπιν Ὄρου χρησι-
 5 ἀνόν, ἣ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε.
 (ἔτους) γ' Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 Φαμενώθ γ̃.

1 π' 2 ἐπιστάταις corr. from ἐπιστατή

'From the prytanis, to the comarchs and supervisors of the peace of the village of Mermertha. Send up immediately Petosorapis son of Horus, Christian (?), or else come up yourselves. Year 3 of Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Phamenoth 3.'

4-5 *χρησιανόν*: I can only interpret this as *χρησ<τ>ιανόν*, 'Christian' (the form in -η- is of course normal, see Blass-Debrunner *NTGramm.* § 24). The spelling without *tau* recurs in PSI 1412. 10, as restored by Dr. Rea (2785 2 note): διεπ[ε]μψάμην σοι δι<α> Σωτοῦ τοῦ χρησια[νοῦ] τάλαντα δύο. This is probably a phonetic spelling, cf. e.g. SB 4284. 7 πλεί<τ>ων; Dr. Gignac was able to cite eight third-century examples of this sort of assimilation. A parallel phenomenon is the variation between -cc- and -cτ-, of which examples are given in PPetaus 10. 6 note: hence perhaps *crissana* and *cressiani* in Latin inscriptions (Diehl, *ILCV* 1330, 1337).

3036-3045. RECEIPTS FOR ἐπικεφάλαιον

These ten documents more than double the material bearing on the ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως, without solving its problems. For a general account, see the introduction to 2578-9. The receipts may be set out chronologically as follows:

	<i>date</i>	<i>payment for</i>	<i>amount</i>	<i>no. of persons</i>	<i>signatory</i>
(1) 3036	24.2.298	297/8?	1,200	1	} Sarapion systates
(2) 3037	4.3.298	297/8?	1,200	1	
			1,200	1	
(3) 3038	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1	} Didymus systates
(4) 2578	30.3.298	296/7	2,400	2	
(5) 3039	29.5.298	296/7	1,200	1	
(6) 3040	17.12.298	296/7	1,300	1	} Didymus systates
(7) 3041	June 299	297/8?	1,200	1	
(8) 3142	26.7.301	300/1	1,200	1	none
(9) PSI 163	301/2		1,200	1	Lucius systates
(10) PSI 780	20.7.305	303/4	400	1	illegible
		304/5	1,200		
(11) PSI 302		308/9	doubtful ¹		doubtful
(12) 3042	308/9?	308/9?	1,600	1	Morion
	310/11?	310/11?			
(13) 3043	3.9.311	311/12?	3,200	2	Aphous and colleagues
(14) 2579	4.8.313	312/13	1,600	2	Heraclides meniarch
	(311?)	(310/11?)			
(15) 3044		312/13	2,400	1	Elias and colleagues
(16) PSI 462	20.8.314	314/15	2,400	1	Athenodorus systates
(17) 3045	314/15	315/16	2,400	1	Aur. Poli- ticus and colleagues

The increased evidence still attests no year of this tax earlier than 296/7, and no city other than Oxyrhynchus. Most payments are of 1,200 dr. or its multiples; but there is no obvious pattern to the divergences. All the receipts except (8) have signatures (no. 11 is probably damaged); and of these all except (15) have signatures

¹ See 3142 12 note. If the view there taken is correct, the receipt is unfinished or broken: the sum (and perhaps a signatory) came later.

in the same hand as the text—the documents, that is, must be either copies of the originals, or holographs of the issuing officials. (2) and (7) contain two receipts on the one sheet; (1), (5), (8), (10), (12), and (17) leave space blank for a second receipt.

The systates is the most frequent signatory. (1)–(3) and (7) are issued by Sarapion, (4)–(6) by Didymus. Sarapion signs both in 298 and in June 299; if then it is the same Sarapion, we can conclude that the systates continued to be responsible for payments for his own year as they came in later: Sarapion apparently for 297/8 (3036 2 n.).

On two points the diplomatic changes in the later receipts. The trade of the payer is certainly specified in (7), (8), (12), (14), (15), and (17), and probably in (13); this may connect with payment through a guild (2578–9 introd.). A second difference is the mention of ‘orders’ under which the payment was made. (8), and (10) to (16) inclusive, cite orders, either with specification of the official or else (8, 16) orders unspecified. The officials cited are the prefect (8, 10, 12, 13), the catholicus (11), a *διασημότατος* (14, ? 15). Were the orders for the imposition of the tax, or for its amount? Do we deduce that in this period (A.D. 301–14) the levy was specifically renewed each year?

3036

28 4B.58/B (6–8) a

7.2 × 24.5 cm.

24 February 298

- διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου
 πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος
 (ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ ιγ" καὶ ς"
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
- 5 Διοκλητ[ιανο]ῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 σεβαστ[ῶν] καὶ Κωνσταντί[ου]
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-
 νεστάτων καيسάρων
 ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Κορνηλίου
- 10 Καρπουγγίου δραχμὰς
 χιλίας διακοσίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.
 (ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"
 Μεχεῖρ λ[—].
 Σαραπίων συστάτη(ς)
- 15 σεση(μείωμαι).
 (m.²) παρ οριου
 Back ↓ (m.³) ἀποχαί
- 18 → (m.⁴) ωνος
 καὶ Σαραπίωνος

1, 9 ὑπερ 10 1. Καλπουρνίου 14 συστατῇ 15 σεση^τ

‘There was paid for capitation tax of the city, for the past 14th and 13th and 6th year of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars, in the name of Cornelius Calpurnius, one thousand two hundred drachmas, making 1,200 dr. Year 14 and year 13 and year 6, Mecheir 30.

I, Sarapion the systates, have signed.

From Horius (?).

(Back) Receipts

..... and of Sarapion.’

2 f. Either διελθόντος is a mistake for ἐνεστῶτος; or else the numerals in 3 are a mistake for ιγ ιβ ε. The same choice in 3037 2 f. 3038, dated the same day as 3037 and signed by the same systates as both 3036 and 3037, has ἐνεστῶτος. If we assume that each systates was responsible for one year’s receipts, we must choose to emend διελθόντος, for the year 13–12–5 belonged to Didymus and not to Sarapion (2578, 3039–40).

16 The scribe left a gap between παρ and οριου; the gap is not fully explained by a deep crease in the papyrus. But παρ’ ὀρίου or ὀρ<ρ>ίου seems to lead nowhere. Perhaps παρ’ Ὀρίου: the agent who paid for Cornelius. If (despite the gap) παρορίου was intended, the meaning would presumably be ‘on the outskirts of the city’ (PMerton 34. 11 n.).

17 ἀποχαί: the same docket 3037 36, there justified because the sheet contains two receipts. Perhaps the writer intended to add a second on the lower half of 3036, which is in fact occupied only by παρ’ Ὀρίου.

3037

29 4B.56/C (8–9) b

6.7 × 23.8 cm.

4 March 298

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου
πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος
(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) 5"
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
5 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβαστῶν
καὶ Κωνσταντίου
κα[ι] Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων και-
10 σάρων ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος
Παύλου Διονυσίου
δραχμὰς χιλίας
διακοσίας γ(ίν.) (δρ.) Ἀς.
(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) 5"
15 Φαμενώθ η'.

Σαραπίων ευστάτης
 ςεση(μείωμαι).

- καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος
 Ἀγτινόου Εὐδαί-
 20 μο]νος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 (ἔτους) ιδ" [κα]ῖ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ
 (ἔτους) ς" τῶν κυρίων
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβαστῶ(ν)
 25 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξ]ιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-
 νεστάτων καيسάρων
 ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ δραχμὰς
 30 χιλίας διακοσίας
 γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.
 (ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ"
 καὶ (ἔτους) ς" Φαμενώθ η'.
- Σαραπίων
 35 ςεση(μείωμαι).
 Back ↓ ἀποχαί

10, 18, 28 ὑπερ

17, 35 ςεση^L

17 at the end, two pen-trials

24 σεβαστῶ

2 διελθόντος must be a mistake for ἐνεστῶτος, as at 3036 2 f.

35 If 34 is correctly read, and 34 and 35 are aligned, there is no space in 35 for ευστάτης, even in abbreviation.

3038

29 4B.56/C (8-9) c

5.3 × 18 cm.

4 March 298

- διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπι[κ]εφα-
 λαίου πόλεως τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος (ἔτους) ιδ"
 καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"
 5 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)

Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 σεβαστῶν καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου
 10 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτω(ν)
 καισάρων ὑπὲρ
 ὀνόματος Κοπρέ-
 ως ἐπὶ(κ(λην) Χοοῦς
 15 Φιλίσκου δρα-
 χμὰς χιλίας
 διακοσίας (γίν.) (δρ.) Ἄς.
 (ἔτους) ιδ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ'
 καὶ (ἔτους) 5''
 20 Φαμενὼθ η' .
 Σαραπίων
 συστάτης
 σεση(μείωμαι).
 Back ↓ [...].αι.....[

5 ημῶ 11 ἐπιφανεστατῶ 12 ὑπερ 14 Οἱ ἐπικ(αλουμένου) 23 σεση-

24 Possibly ἀπο]χαὶ κεφαλ[αίου. But the second word forces the traces.

3039

28 4B.60/B (1-3) a

8 × 21.3 cm.

29 May 298

→ διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλ[αίου
 τοῦ διελθ[ό]ντος <ἔτους> ιγ' καὶ [ιβ'
 καὶ ε' τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 5 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβαστῶν
 ὀνόμ(ατος) Ἀνουβίωνος Ἀφν[γ-

χίου δραχμὰς χιλίας
 10 διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.
 (ἔτους) ιδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ ς"
 Παῦνι δ'. Δίδυμος κυστά-
 της σεσημίωνμαι.

1 υς

8 ονομ

12 παῦνι

The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank

3040

28 4B.62/B (5-7) c

7.3 × 7 cm.

17 December 298

→ διεγράφη ὑ(πέρ) ἐπικαιφαλαίου
 τοῦ διελθό[ν]τος ιγ' καὶ ιβ' κ[αὶ] ε'
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ καὶ Κωνσταν-
 5 τίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβα-
 στῶν ὁ[ν]ό(ματος) Ἀρίου δραχμὰς
 χιλία[ς τρ]ιακοσίας (δρ.) Ἄτ.
 (ἔτους) ιε' καὶ ι[δ]" καὶ ζ' Χοιὰκ κα̅.
 Δίδυ[μο]ς κυστάτης δι' ἐμοῦ
 10 Ἐπ[ιμ]άχου σεσημίωνμαι.

ακυρ.....ος τῆς προ-
 τέρας ἀποχῆς.

1 1. ἐπικεφ-

Back: blank

2 ιβ' seems clear; the two damaged numerals are read on this basis. The payment therefore must be for the last year but one, A.D. 296/7. The original receipt (11 f.) had presumably been lost. 3040 is the replacement; and, though issued in 298/9 (l. 8), retains διελθόντος from the original wording (Rea).

11 Perhaps ἀκύρου ὁ[ν]τος, l. οὔσης.

3041

28 4B.60/C (13-15) a

8.5 × 14 cm.

14/23 June 299

→ (ἔτους) ι[]' καὶ (ἔτους) ι." [κ]αὶ [(ἔτους).]" .[.....]ριων
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητια[νοῦ] καὶ
 Μ[α]ξιμειανοῦ [σεβαστ]ῶν καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμειανοῦ τῶν
 5 ἐπιφανεστάτων καيسάρων ὑπὲρ
 ἐπικεφαλαίου π[όλ]εως ὀνόματος
 Σιλβανοῦ πραγμα[τ]ευτοῦ δραχμὰς
 χειλίας διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀς.
 (ἔτους) ιε" καὶ (ἔτους) ιδ" κ[αὶ] (ἔτους) ζ"
 10 Παῦνι κ[.]—.
 Σαραπίων σε[ς]η(μείωμαι).

5 ὑπὲρ

10 παῦνι

11 σε[ς]η—

Back: blank

1 Before this we should expect a line of the form διεγράφη ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελθόντος. But the surface, where preserved, shows no trace of ink. The space available after the numerals in 1 is too long for τῶν κυρίων alone: perhaps τ[ῶν αὐτῶν κυ]ρίων. Both considerations suggest that we have only the lower part of a double receipt.

The date is difficult. In 9 ιδ is certain, and the other two numerals can be read to conform. In 1 nothing much survives except the ι of the first and second numeral. If the systatai were responsible for the arrears of their year, even after leaving office, and if this Sarapion is the same as in 3036-8, restore L ι[δ]" καὶ L ιχ'" καὶ [L 5]".

3042

28 4B.60/C (20-1) a

7.3 × 26.3 cm.

308/9 or 310/11

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε' καὶ γ (ἔτους)
 Φαῶφι δ' ἀκολούθως
 τοῖς κελευσθ(εῖσι) ὑπὸ τοῦ
 5 διαση(μοτάτου) ἡγεμόνος
 Ζακάων Λουκίου
 ὀνηλάτης ἀργ(υρίου) δρα-
 χμὰς χειλίας ἑξακοσίας
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀχ.
 10 Μωρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

4 κελυς^θ 5 διαση[—] 6 l. Ζακάωνος 7 l. ὀνηλάτου 10 cεση[—] Lower part of sheet (18 cm.), and back, blank

2 The '5th and 3rd' year might be 308/9 (Maximinus and Constantine, ignoring Galerius), or 310/11 (Constantine and Licinius, ignoring Galerius and Maximinus). 2579 3 note.

3043

39 3B.76/F (1-2) a

12.2 × 12.2 cm.

3 September 311

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου πόλεως
ἀκο[λ]ούθος τοῖς κελυστῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ
διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος ὀνόματος
Ἀντίονος καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει
5 καὶ Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς ἡ[.]ριστῆαι' ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
[[χιλίας]] τριςχιλίας διακοσίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) 'Γς.
(ἔτους) κ" καὶ η" Θῶθ ε'.

Ἀβ[ρ]ήλιος Ἀφοῦς καὶ τῶν κυνωνῶν
cεσημῖωμαι.

1 ὑπερ 1. -κεφαλαίου 2 l. ἀκολουθως, κελυσθεῖσι 3 l. ἡγεμόνος on- corr. from ων-
4 l. Ἀντινόου 5 l. Ἀμμωνίου υἱοῦ 8 l. οἱ κοινωνοί Back: blank

5 ἡ[.]ριστῆαι: α has been corrected from ι; the preceding letters are certain. This should specify the trade. The initial trace is the left end of a high horizontal, e.g. τ. Apparently not χ[ε]ριστ[η]αί.

3044

35 4B.71/B (1-3) b

12.5 × 13 cm.

312/13, 313/14

→ τος αἰνάτου .τ. .[.] ἐβδό-
μου (ἔτους) θ καὶ ζ (m.²) καὶ ε
(m.¹) ὑπὸ τοῖς καλευσθεῖ[σι] ὀνό-
ματος Παύλου 'Ηρακλέου
5 ταπητᾶ ἀργυρίου
τραχμὰ δεισχειλεία
τετρακοσία (γίνονται) 'Β (δρ.) υ.
(m.²) 'Ηλίας καὶ ὁ κυνωνοὶ cεση-
μῖωμε.

- 10 (m.³) διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου
 ὑπὲρ ἔτους (ἔτους) η' καὶ 5"
 (m.⁴) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικι[νν]ίου σεβαστῶ(ν)
 (m.⁵) ἀκολουθῶ[ς τ]οῖς κελεϋθεῖ[ν]αι δι...ο...
 ...[.....]. Παύλου[.....]...[...].[...].[...].

1 1. ἐνάτου 3 1. κελ- 4 1. Παύλου 6-7 1. δραχμὰς διςχιλίας τετρακοσίας 7 Ὁ
 8 1. οἱ κοινωνοί 9 1. -μείωμαι οὐ -μειώμε(θα) 10 ὑπὲρ 1. -λαίου 11 ὑπὲρ ετους L ἡ
 Back Blank

'... ninth ... seventh ... year 9 and 7 (2nd hd.) and 5 (1st hd.) under the orders in the name of Paulus son of Heraclius, carpet-man, two thousand four hundred drachmas of silver, making 2,400 dr. (2nd hd.) I Elias and my colleagues have signed.

(3rd hd.) There was paid for the capitation tax, for the year 8 and 6 (4th hd.) of our lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, (5th hd.) in accordance with the orders ...'

1-2 The year is 312/13; the receipt for the next year (line 11) follows on the same sheet. Presumably we should restore ἐνεστῶτος (rather than διελθόντος or εἰσιόντος) at the beginning of line 1. After αἰνάτου the traces allow ἔτος [καὶ], but not ἔτου[ς].

4-5 The same payer in 3045 (for 315/16).

8 Here, as in 3045, the receiving officers form a κοινόν. But who were they? Cf. 2855 1; 3137 1.

13-14 Reconstruction has to rest on two premisses, neither certain: that κελεϋθεῖ[ν]αι was so written in full; and that Παύλου is a correct reading. Before the putative π is a small high loop, i.e. perhaps ὑπερ (though one might expect the shaft of rho to show) or δύ(ματος); and if that is right, we expect the end of 13 and the beginning of 14 to contain the title and perhaps the name of an official; but if so ὑπὸ τοῦ must be missing, and what follows must be taken as δι(α)νημοτ(άτ)ου. Alternatively the payment might have been made through someone: but δια was not written (most like διη, οτου).

3045

28 4B.62/B (4) a

13.3 × 26 cm.

314/15

- διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικαιφα-
 λίου τοῦ ἰσιόντος (ἔτους) ι" καὶ (ἔτους) η'
 Παῦλις Ἡρακλήου ταπητᾶς
 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διςχι-
 5 λίας τετρακοσίας (δρ.) Ὁ.
 Αὐρήλιος Πολιτικὸς καὶ ὁ κυ-
 νωνὸς σεσημώμεθα.

1 ὑπὲρ 1. ἐπικεφ- 2 ἰσιον- 6 f. 1. οἱ κοινωνοὶ Heavy kollesis to left. Lower part of
 sheet (19 cm.), and back, blank

3 The same man, in the spelling Παύλου Ἡρακλέου, in 3044 4.

6 f. ὁ κυνωνὸς: 3044 8 note.

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

3046–3050. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

These five documents are grouped together, because they supplement the material collected in *JRS* 57 (1967) 134 ff. It was suggested, on the basis of the older evidence, that Egypt underwent a wide administrative reform in the reign of Philippus Arabs: the object was to counter declining productivity; measures were taken in at least three sectors (agriculture, liturgies, taxation and the *annona*); some at least of these measures were taken by an extraordinary commission, consisting of the *rationalis* Claudius Marcellus and his assistant procurator Salutaris. Of the new material:

3048 illustrates the decline in production: corn was so short in March 246 that the state resorted to compulsory purchase. Similar *στενοχωρία* was already attested for October 248 (PErl. 18, cf. 2854).

3050 includes another proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris: the subject was apparently the restoration of correct boundaries of plots. Here, as in **78** and PLeit. 16, the commission shows its concern for accurate land-records.

3046, **3047**, and **970** (for which **3046** now provides a date) are returns of un-irrigated and artificially irrigated land. This traditional operation again helped to bring some realism into registers of land and the tax due upon it. A general survey of the same kind took place in the Great Oasis, under orders of Marcellus and Salutaris: *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3018 (now published in *JEA* 57 (1971) 165). Two of the new pieces (**970** and **3046**) refer to the orders of a special official, ὁ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσιν.

3049 provides the earliest mention of decaproti in Oxyrhynchus, and gives a little support to the view that the office was a new creation of the Philippan reform. Decaproti also figure in **3050**, where (as in PLeit. 16) they concern themselves with amending the land-register.

2664 15 suggests that the office of phylarch was introduced as part of the same reform. Dr. A. K. Bowman has deduced a related change in the structure of liturgical tribes: see *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 150.

3046. RETURN OF UNINUNDATED AND ARTIFICIALLY IRRIGATED LAND

20 3B.31/E (1–5) e

6.8 × 21 cm.

244/5

This return belongs to a well-attested type: see the list by C. Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 120 f.; add BGU 2022–3, **3047**. Its main interest is the official whose orders are cited: Aurelius Antoninus ὁ κράτιστος πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσιν. Antoninus has already

appeared in 970, an ἀπογραφὴ of unknown content and date, in which his title was uncertainly read; this return can now be restored and dated.

Before A.D. 197 returns of uninundated land invariably cite the orders of the prefect: Préaux, loc. cit. 127. After that date, practice varies:

BGU 2023 (198/201) orders of the procurator Publ. Cerealis

BGU 2022 (202) orders (official not specified)

BGU 139 (202) orders of the prefect

PHamb. 11 etc. (Préaux, loc. cit. 120) (202) orders of the procurator Cl. Diognetus

PFamTebt. 51 (206) no orders mentioned

PFamTebt. 52 (208) orders (official not specified)

PTebt. 324 (208) orders of the prefect Subatianus Aquila

1459 (226) orders of the prefects and ex-epistrategus

1549 (240) no orders mentioned

3046 (244/5) and 970 orders of the πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψειςιν Aur. Antoninus

3047 (245) no orders mentioned.

In this sector, as in others, the Severan reorganization clearly introduced an elaboration of bureaucracy, with the delegation of special problems to special officials. It is even possible that the office πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψειςιν was created under Severus, and existed as a continuous appointment. (Cf. A. Stein, *Charisteria Rzach* (1930), 178.) But the evidence is insufficient: (a) the office as such is attested for c. 220 (3032), 223 (PSI 1066), 232 (W. Chr. 41 iii 14), and 244/5 (3046, 970); (b) three earlier procurators, whose title specifies no particular department, might, from their functions, have held this office: Publius Cerealis (c. 198/201: W. Chr. 235, BGU 2023), Clau. Diognetus (202/4),¹ Clau. Alexander (206–7 and 208–9: W. Chr. 235). And the variations of authority cited in the returns perhaps suggest *ad hoc* arrangements.

There is some evidence that such returns were (or might be) submitted annually, not only in years of defective flood (PMich. VI pp. 9 f.). The practice apparently lapsed in the chaos of the later third century: 3046–7 and 970 are the last known returns of this type.

3046, 3047, and 970 form a group not only in date, but also in a diplomatic feature: all three are docketed on the back with the name of the village to which they refer. In both 3046 and 970 the declarant is an Antinoite.

→ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Πα]κερκῆ
παρὰ Αὐρη]λ(ίου) Σαραπίωνος
Ἡρα[κ]λείδου τοῦ καὶ Πα-
νάρους ἀγορανομῆς[αντ(ος)
5 τῆς Ἀντινοέων πόλεως.

¹ The view that he was *proc. usiacus* has very slight foundations: *JRS* 57 (1967) 139 n. 53.

- κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευθέντα) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλ(ίου)
 Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κρατίστ(ου)
 πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι
 περὶ ἀπογρ(αφῆς) ἀβρόχου καὶ
 10 ἐπηντ(λημένης) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὸ
 ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) Μάρκων
 [Ἰουλίω]ν Φι[λί]ππων
 καί[σα]ρων [τῶν] κυρί[ων]
 π[ερὶ] κώμην Πα-
 15 κερκὴ ἐκ τ[οῦ] C]ωστρά-
 του παρεμ[βο]λῆς ἀπη-
 λιώτου χ[ώμ]ατος καὶ
 ἐποικίου Μενεκράτους
 λε[γο]μένου εἰς Πολυ-
 20 δεύκην Ἡρακλείδου
 (μοναρτάβου) [. . .]ντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) θ
 καὶ (πρότερον) Πτο[. . .]λεμαίου
 Ἐπιμάχου εἰς Πούπλιο(ν)
 Αἴλιον Ἡρακλείδην
 25 κατοικ(ικῆς) (μοναρτάβου) ἐπηντλ(ημένης)
 (ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ εἰς Πτολεμαῖον
 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα-
 πίωνος (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) ιβ ἄλλαι
 (ἀρ.) η (ἡμις) (γίνονται) (ἀρ.) κ (ἡμις) τὸ ἐπι-
 30 βάλλον μοι μέρο(ς) (μοναρτάβου)
 ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ περὶ τὸ Σα-
 τύρ[ο]ν ἐποίκ(ιον) ἐκ το(ῦ) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
 ριδ . . . εἰς
 Ἀμμώνι[ον] Κράτωνο(ς)

scanty remains of four more lines

(Back) → Π]ακερκή

2	αυρη]λ	6	κελ	αυρηλ	7	κρατιστ	9	απογρς	10	επηντς	απογρς	21	ατ	]ντλ
22	α'	23	πουπλιδ	25	κατοικ	ατ	επηντλ	28	ατ	29	ης'	κς'	30	μερ ^ο ατ
31	επηντλ	32	εποικ	εκ	το	αλεξανδ								

'To the comogrammateus of Pakerke, from Aurelius Sarapion son of Heraclides *alias* Panares, former agoranomus of the city of the Antinoeis.

In accordance with the orders given by Aurelius Antoninus the most excellent (procurator) in charge of surveys, regarding the registration of uninundated and artificially irrigated land, I register for the present 2nd year of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares our lords:

Near the village of Pakerke, from Sostratus' lot, (at) the embankment of the east camp (?) and the so-called Farmstead of Menecrates: in the name of Polydeuces son of Heraclides, land paying one artaba . . . artificially irrigated, 9 arouras; and former property of Ptolemaeus son of Epimachus, in the name of Publius Aelius Heraclides, catoecic land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras; and in the name of Ptolemaeus son of Sarapion and grandson of Sarapion, land paying one artaba, 12 arouras (and) another $8\frac{1}{2}$ arouras, making $20\frac{1}{2}$ arouras: my share in this, land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras.

And near the Farmstead of Satyrus, from Alexander's lot . . .'

6 ff. This confirms the guess *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκε(έψει)* in 970, which will be of about the same date. No basis remains for identifying Antoninus with the acting prefect Antinous (215/16).

15-19 After *ᾤωστράτην* understand *κλήρου*, as usual. The two following phrases presumably locate the land more precisely. Neither is attested elsewhere; the first is of unexpected shape, but I cannot find a reading to replace *παρεμ[βο]λῆς*. *εἰς* introduces the name of the lessee, see 3048 5 n.

21-2 In 22 it would be convenient to suppose that the lacuna contained no writing: the scribe simply split *Πτολ[ε]μαίου* across a flaw in the writing surface. If this is right, we might make the same assumption in 21, and read the expected formula (*μοναρχάβου*) [.] *ἐ[πη] vac.]ντλ(ημένης)*.

29-31 One group of areas finishes in 31, and the next begins. Since *μέρος* thus comes at the end of the section, it presumably refers to the whole series, rather than to the $20\frac{1}{2}$ arouras leased to Ptolemaeus.

3047. DECLARATION OF UNINUNDATED AND ARTIFICIALLY IRRIGATED LAND

27 3B.39/J (4-5) a

14 × 40.2 cm.

25 February/26 March 245

This document clearly comes from a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*: it is numbered '36' in the upper margin; and there are remains of a join along the left edge. The docket *Φοβώου* has been added on the back, in the top right-hand corner.

The text is a declaration of land, addressed to the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages. More specifically (though no direct statement is made in the introductory formula, line 4) it is an *ἀπογραφή ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐπηντλημένης*: a familiar type, for which see 3046.

The total of land declared is considerable: c. 1,700 arouras, spread through five villages in the eastern toparchy. The declaration is correspondingly long, and exceptionally elaborate: it lists the plots village by village, with the taxation-status of each; dates are given, sometimes for purchase (*ὠνημένη α ἔτους*), sometimes for registration (*ἀναγραφείσα α ἔτους*), sometimes without specifying (see 6 note). The closest parallel for all this is not in the other declarations, but in the register PMendesGenev. (SPP xvii pp. 9 ff.).

Much of the land is catoecic, or comes from old *κλήροι* or (37) *δωρεαί*. The rest is described, in a new term, as *ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοτομότητος*. All of it is leased out, the bulk to a group called *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου*.

The dates are expressed as bare year-numbers; except for two references to Tiberius (25, 31), the name of the emperor is never stated. I assume that any one

figure is deemed to apply to the first reign which will accommodate it, reckoning in reverse chronological order from A.D. 244/5.¹ The scribe saw no ambiguities in this system, except for the remote years of Tiberius, which are therefore particularized. Thus:

Dates of registration α	(Philip) 244
β	(Philip) 244/5? (Gordian III) 238/9? (if the former, the registration was made in the six months between the beginning of the year and the date of 3047)
γ	(Gordian III) 239/40

Some year-numbers stand by themselves, with no participle attached; all these are α ; no doubt they refer to registration in 244.

Dates of purchase:

line 10	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
lines 21 f.	$\iota\beta$ θ	} (Alexander Severus) 232/3 and 229/30
lines 25 f.	$\kappa\gamma$ β	
	κ $\iota\theta$	} (Caracalla) 214/15 Tiberius 15/16 (see note on 25)
lines 30 f.	$\iota\epsilon$ $\kappa\theta$ λ	
	$\iota\beta$ θ	(Septimius Severus) 206/7 (Commodus) 188/9 (presumably Commodus, rather than Augustus; perhaps years within one reign go in normal chronological order) 189/90 Tiberius 25/6 (Tiberius) 22/3
line 33	$\iota\gamma$	(Alexander Severus) 233/4
line 35	γ δ	(Gordian III) 239/40 (Gordian III, 240/1, with the years again in normal order? or Maximinus, 237/8?)

This table illustrates the growth of a holding over two and a half centuries: purchases of catoecic and cleruchic land under Tiberius; then nothing until Commodus.

The owner of the land, Calpurnia Heraclia, must have been a rich woman. The part of her property declared here amounts to some 1,700 ar.; 3048 (March 246) shows that she owned considerable deposits of grain in the lower and eastern toparchies, and employed *πραγματευταί* and *φροντισταί* to look after them. Her father had been

¹ A similar set of unspecified years was tentatively postulated for PMarmarica by Dr. Rea (*Par. del Passato*, 1967, p. 52).

a Fellow of the Museum. One of her guardians had been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus (3048 13). No doubt this was a family of Alexandrian notables.

I am much indebted to Professor Youtie for his help with this text.

λς

- κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Φοβώου καὶ ἄλ(λων) κω(μῶν) τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τοπ(αρχίας)
 παρὰ Καλπουρνίας Ἑρακλείας τῆς καὶ Εὐδαμίας θυγατρὸς [Καλπουρ-
 νίου Θέωνος τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ κειτηθέντων διὰ Αὐρηλίου [Ἰέρακος
 γραμματέως· ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) ἢ ἔχω περὶ Θμ[οινακωμ()
 5 ἀγνοτο{το}μῆτος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτ[ο]υ
 ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρούρας) σεLις ἐπηντλ(ημένης) α
 (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ιγη'ις' γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) καὶ
 ἐπηντλ(ημένης) ἀν(αγραφείσαι) α (ἔτους)
 (ἀρ.) κηθ' ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ. .ια. [. . .] σκεπομένων
 εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀν(αγραφείσας) β (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) (ἡμις)
 Θμοινεψώβθεως ἀγνοτομῆτος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιαν[οῦ
 10 καὶ Τίτου βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφείσας) γ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) δγ' ἰδιω(τικῆς)
 α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπέλ(οις) ἐκκεκομ(εν) ἀβρόχο[υ]
 (ἀρ.) υξadλβξδ ἐ[π]ηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς (μοναρτάβου)
 ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀ<πὸ> τοῦ οἴκου
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρξθ ἐπηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς (ἀρ.) σπθ'ις καὶ εἰς
 Διόδωρον τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)
 θηξδρκη ἄλ(λης) ὠνη(μένης) . .
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ καὶ εἰς Ἀντίοχον Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἑξακῶντος διὰ
 15 τῶν υἱῶν (μοναρτάβου) [ἀ]βρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) εθ' ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.)
 ιεθ' γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς)
 ἀν(αγραφείσαι) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δγ' <ἰδιω(τικῆς)> α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)
 υξadλβξδ (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρλθξδρκ[η]
 γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) χβdηξδρκη ἐπηντλ(ημένης) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς
 (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) σπθ'ις γ(ίνονται) ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) τς[θ'ι'
 Σχοίβεως ἐκ τοῦ Πολυνείκου σὺν τῷ Μαινίσκου καὶ . . .
 ταίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοτομῆτος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐ[εσπασιανοῦ
 20 καὶ Τίτου ἰδιω(τικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομ(μεν) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε κατοικ(ικῆς)
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) κδ
 ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) κς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) να ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ
 ιβ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) [ε

- θ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) ε γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ιδ βασιλ(ικῆς) ... () γίζ
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρων) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίζ
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι <ἰδιω(τικῆς)> α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου)
 (ἀρ.) λη ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) κζ
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικράτους κλήρου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν
 25 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) κγ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κ β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) ς
 κ (ἔτους) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) δ ιθ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) νς κατοι-
 κ(ικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ξς d^hiς ἐπη(ντλημένης)
 (ἀρ.) νγLίς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) ρκ γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρκβ d^hiς
 ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) νγLίς
 γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίζ ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι
 <ἰδιωτικῆς> α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε
 (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξ d^hiς
 γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ροε d^hiς ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) πLίς
 30 Ὁσοροννώφριος κατ(ικῆς) ἐκ τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἰδι[ω(τικῆς)] (μοναρτάβου) ὠνη(μένης)
 ιε (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου)
 (ἀρ.) ιε κθ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι λ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κε ιβ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η θ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ς
 γ(ίνονται) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) νς ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ
 ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε (διαρτάβου) μεμισθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ
 πάτρια τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) θ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι μέρη
 Τυχινεκώτεως ἐκ τοῦ κάτω περιχώματος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 35 οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) λε δ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.)
 λα γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) α ... ()
 κλη() (ἀρ.) ξς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου περιχώματος καὶ τῶν (πρότερον)
 Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωρεᾶς εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ)
 καὶ Τίτου κατοικ(ικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ν ὠνη(μένης) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ριδ γ(ίνονται)
 (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξδ
 (διαρτάβου) μεμισθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἀβ(ρόχου) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) β τὸ ἐπιβάλ(λον) μέρος.
 40 (ἔτους) β' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς
 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεστάτου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Φαμενώθ.
 (m.²) Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐδαμία δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἰέρακος γρ(αμ-
 ματέως) ἐπιδέδωκα.

45 / Θμοινακωμ() / Ὁσοροννώφριος
 / Θμοινεψώβθεωσ / Τυχιννεκώτεωσ
 / Χχοίβεωσ

(Back) ↓ Φοβώου

1 κωμογρς δ κω απή το) 4 βς 6 ιδιωτ ας' εναμ) αβροχ επηνλ ας' γ (= γίνονται)
 αβ επη αν' ας' 8 αν' βς' αβροχ ς' (= ἡμικυ) 10 βαcl αν' γς' αβ δγ) ιδιω ας'
 αμπλ εκκεκομς 11 επηνλ ομοι ας' α- ομοι 12 αβροχ επηνλ ομοι 13 ωνῆ γς'
 α- αβροχ δ ωνῆ 14 αβροχ 15 α- αβροχ εβῆ επηνλ ιεβῆ γ κω βαcl
 16 αν' γς' αβροχ δγ) ας' αβροχ α- αβροχ 17 γ αβροχ επη ας' α- γ επη
 18 1. Μεν- 20 ιδιω ας' εκκεκομς αβ κατοικ αβροχ 21 επηνλ γ ωνῆ γς αβροχ
 ιβς 22 θς γ αβροχ βαcl αβροχ γ κ βαcl αν' 23 αβροχ ας' αβροχ α-
 αβ επη α- 25 ωνῆ κγς αβ βς ομοι- 26 κς ομοι- γ αβροχ κατοικ αβροχ
 επη 27 γ γ λ αβ επη 28 γ κωμ βαcl αν' αβροχ ας' αβροχ α- αβ
 29 γ αβροχ επη α- 30 οσορ κατοικ ιδι[α- ωνῆ ιες αβροχ 31 κθς
 αβροχ λς αβ ιβς τιβ' επη θς αβροχ 32 γ α- αβ επη ας' εναμ) αβ
 β- μεμικθ 33 ιγς αβροχ 35 ωνῆ γς δς γ αβ 36 κλη' α' 37 ουεσ)
 38 κατοικ αβ ωνῆ αβροχ γ α- αβ 39 β- μεμικθ αβ επιβλ 40 ιουλιου
 41 ιουλιου 43 αυρῆ ιερακος γρς

'Sheet 36

To the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages in the eastern toparchy, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum, through her secretary Aurelius Hierax:

I register for the present 2nd year land I possess at

THMOENACOM()

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus, private land, year 1, under vines,

uninundated

artificially irrigated, year 1

205½ 1/16 ar.
 13½ 1/16

total of land uninundated and artificially irrigated, registered year 1

218¾

substandard land, productive, in the category . . ., (registered) to those of the House aforesaid, registered year 2

uninundated

½

THMOENEPSOBTHIS

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

royal land, registered year 3,

uninundated

4⅓

private land, year 1, with vines which have been cut down,

uninundated

461¼ 1/32 1/64

artificially irrigated likewise year 1

26

one-artaba land, likewise (registered) to those aforesaid,

uninundated

107¾

artificially irrigated likewise (registered) to those

aforesaid				280 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
and registered to Diodorus alias Apollonius, purchased year 3, at one artaba				
<i>uninundated</i>			9 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$	
further purchased land . . .				
<i>uninundated</i>			4	
and registered to Antiochus son of Sarapion and grandson of Exacon, through his sons, one-artaba land,				
<i>uninundated</i>			5 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>				10
total = 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$				
Total for the village				
royal land, registered year 3,				
<i>uninundated</i>	4 $\frac{1}{3}$			
private land, year 1				
<i>uninundated</i>		461 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{64}$		
one-artaba land				
<i>uninundated</i>			130 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$	
total <i>uninundated</i>		602 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$		
private land, year 1, 26 ar.				
<i>artificially irrigated</i>				
one-artaba land, 280 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$				
total <i>artificially irrigated</i>				306 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$

SCHOEBIS

from the Polynicus estate combined with
that of Meniscus and taeus, and from the
undivided land, (registered) to those of the
House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:
private land, year 1, in an area cleared (of
vines),

<i>uninundated</i>	5			
catoecic land				
<i>uninundated</i>		24		
<i>artificially irrigated</i>				27
total 51				
purchased year 3				
<i>uninundated</i>		4		
year 12 ditto		5		
year 9 ditto		5		
total <i>uninundated</i>		14		
royal land, registered year 3				
<i>uninundated</i>			10	
Total for the estates				
royal land, registered year 3				
<i>uninundated</i>			(10)	
private land, year 1				
<i>uninundated</i>	(5)			
one-artaba land				
<i>uninundated</i>		38		
<i>artificially irrigated</i>				(27)

and from the estate of Epicrates, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 23			
<i>uninundated</i>	20		
year 2 Tiberius ditto	6		
year 20 ditto	4		
year 19	26		
<i>total uninundated</i>	56		
catoecic land			
<i>uninundated</i>	66 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$		
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			53 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
<i>total 120</i>			
<i>Total for the estate</i>			
<i>uninundated</i>		122 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			(53 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$)
<i>Total for the village</i>			
royal land, registered year 3			
<i>uninundated</i>		10	
private land, year 1			
<i>uninundated</i>	5		
one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>		160 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$	
<i>Total uninundated</i>		175 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			80 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$

OSORONNOPHRIOS

catoecic land from the estate of Menodorus, private, at one artaba,

purchased year 15			
<i>uninundated</i>		15	
year 29			
<i>uninundated</i>		10	
year 30			
<i>uninundated</i>		25	
year 12 Tiberius			
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			8
year 9			
<i>uninundated</i>		6	
total one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>		56	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			8
year 1, former vine-land			
<i>uninundated</i>		5	
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily in year 13,			
<i>uninundated</i> , of 9 ar. those parts which fall to me.			

TYCHINNEGOTIS

from the lower embankment, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 3	35
year 4	31
<i>total uninundated</i> . . .	<u>66</u>

and from the middle embankment and from areas formerly belonging to the gift-estate of Artemidorus, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

catoecic land	
<i>uninundated</i>	50
purchased land	
<i>uninundated</i>	<u>114</u>
<i>total one-artaba land</i>	
<i>uninundated</i>	164
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily,	
<i>uninundated</i> , of 2 ar. the part which falls to me.	

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus the most noble and illustrious Caesar, Augusti, Phamenoth.

(2nd hand) I, Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, have submitted (this return) through me, Aur. Hierax, secretary.'

List of villages.

λς: for the numbering cf. 1549; *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 124.

2 *Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας*: she and her father appear again in 3048 11 f. There is a Calpurnia Heraclia who leases out vineyards at some time in the third century (unpublished *ἐπιδοχή*, dated 'year 2'); there is a Calpurnia whose former property is mentioned in A.D. 269 (PErl. 101, from Oxyrhynchus). Otherwise I find no mention of either father or daughter, though this was clearly a rich office-holding family. Perhaps they were related to L. Calpurnius Gaius (prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 222) and his son L. Calpurnius Firmus: for these and their connections see 2723 1 note, 2848 introd.

3 *σειτηθέντων*: list by N. Lewis, *Mnemosyne*, 1963, p. 257; add 3047 and PMichShelton 620. 2.

4 *Θμ[οινακωμ()]*: see on 44.

5 *ἀγνοτομήτου*: again 9 and 19; the word is not attested elsewhere. I suppose it means 'not divided into fields'. 'And would not this in turn mean by implication "not equipped with the usual dikes, canals, etc. for the reception of the flood"? It is not surprising if the greater part of such land is reported as *ἄβροχος*, and only a small portion is rendered productive by artificial irrigation' (Youtie).

εἰς: understand *σωματιζομένην*, as e.g. PMich. VI 367. 12: the land is 'registered to' the lessees, that is, they are responsible for the taxes; 1113 i 17 note.

τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου: an *οἶκος* of Alexandria PFay. 87. 5 (*ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων οἴκου*); an *οἶκος* of Antinoopolis PSI 449. 6 (it owns *γῆδια*); an *οὐσία οἴκου καίσαρος* PLips. 96. 3. BGU 1182 mentions *τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου* (of Alexandria?) leasing out land.

Vespasian and Titus certainly owned estates in Egypt: PBour. 42. 78, 96 etc.; BGU 1894. 93 ff.; Tomsin, *Studi Calderini Paribeni* ii 223. It looks as if *οἶκος* was the still surviving designation of some or all of these estates. Prof. Youtie suggests that the persons mentioned are tenants of the former estate who have taken on land from Calpurnia Heraclia as a group (for such groups compare the *πιττάκιον* of e.g. PCairIsid. 24. 1).

6 *ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις)*: cf. 10, 32. In the last passage this resolution fits rather awkwardly (after *ἀπό*). We should perhaps consider *ἐναμπ(ελικοῦ)* as an alternative; but the adjective is not attested, except perhaps at PSI 1328. 49 *ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου [κ]λήρου ἐντο . . . λίκου ἐναμπέλ[. . .]ου ἀρουῶν δέκα*.

ἀν(αγραφείσαι) α (ἔτους): cf. 8, 10, 16, 22, 28. Here the phrase corresponds to the simple α (ἔτ.) earlier in the line. This makes it clear that the years cited are years of acquisition/registration; they do not date the condition (uninundated etc.) of the plot described.

7 ὑπολ[ό]γον ἐνφόρου: substandard land which has been improved into production. Prof. Youtie remarks that PBeattyPanop. 2. 128 f. describes precisely such land: περὶ τῆς ἐξπαρμένης ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀφόρου.

τῶν παρ. .ια.[. .], σκεπομένων: ἐ]πεσκεμμένων is not a possible reading; neither is ἐ]πικεπε<τ>ομένων. Palaeographically the most likely readings are τωνπαρ. .ιας [(as if α (ἔτους), followed by a numeral- or abbreviation-stroke); then]ησκεπομενων.

9 Θμοινεψώβθεως: 1659 55 etc.

10 ἐκκεκομ(εν): cf. 20; PFouad 67. 12 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμένων ἀμπέλ[ων] καὶ παραδε<ίς>ων; PRyl. 207a. 33 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομ(ένου); PLeit. 16. 8 f. ἐξ ὧλων ἐκκ[ε]κομμένου ἀρουρῶν δύο. This cutting naturally put the land in a lower category for taxation: 2847 i 5-7.

11 (μοναρτάβου): for the adjective e.g. 2473 18, PSI 1328. 47; the editors of 1459 and 1549 preferred the resolution α (ἀρτάβης). One-artaba land is a substantive category: thus in 1044 it is distinguished from βασιλική, and in PSI 1328. 47 ff. from ὠνημένη. But it overlaps others, as is clear from the totals in this document: 23-9 (ἐπηντλημένη) μοναρτάβου ἀρ. κζ+κατοικικῆς ἀρ. νγ (ἡμισυ) ἰς = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. π (ἡμισυ) ἰς; 38 κατοικικῆς ἀρ. ν+ὠνημένης ἀρ. ριδ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. ρξδ. For catocic land at one artaba cf. 3046, SB 9866 and PTebt. 324, corrected in PFamTebt. 51. 15 n.; the rate in general is discussed by Préaux, *CdE* 38 (1963) 131.

13 ὠνη(μένης): cf. 21, 25, 30, 35, 38. For the omission of the syllabic augment in this form, Dr. Gignac refers me to PMich. 254 and 255, line 3; 270 19 etc.; 346; PSI 1328. 50.

ὠνη(μένης) . . : the first of the doubtful letters looks like α; but the second suits neither ς (α ἔτους) nor τ (μοναρτάβου).

16 ρλθξδρκ[η]: the correct figure is $126\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{64} \cdot \frac{1}{128}$. That is, he counted the four arouras (line 14) twice.

17 χβδ^{ηξδρκ}: the correct figure would be $461\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{32} \cdot \frac{1}{64} + 130\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{64} \cdot \frac{1}{128} = 592 \frac{1}{18} \cdot \frac{1}{128}$. (This assumes the two sub-totals to be correct, though the second is in fact wrong, see 16 note.) Youtie saw that 10 ar. of ἐπηντλημένη (line 15) was mistakenly counted in; the discrepancy of the fractions may be a simple blunder. The total for ἐπηντλημένη ($306\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{16}$) is accordingly 10 ar. short.

18 Χχοίβεως: the same village 2583 25 (where the reading is thus confirmed).

22 ... () γίς: here, and at the end of the line, and again in 28, γίς is a copying error for γς', i.e. γ (ἔτους). At the second and third places, the word preceding is ἀν(αγραφείσαι), as the formula requires. ... () equally must represent an original ἀν(αγραφείσαι); but the copyist has blundered and produced something which looks most like γονδ.

25 After '2 Tiberius' we have years '20' and '19': i.e. 20 and 19 Augustus (strict reverse chronological order)? or 20 Tiberius and 19 Augustus (allowing normal chronological order within a single reign)? Not 20 and 19 Caracalla, unless the sequence is jumbled.

30 'Οσοροννώφριος: the scribe has written an arc-shaped sign over the first rho: normally a mark of abbreviation, here perhaps to separate the two parts of the Egyptian compound. The sign is not repeated in 44. This village is not in *WB* III or *WBSuppl.* Prof. Youtie remarks that the word occurs, in the form 'Οσορνῶφρις, as a title of Osiris (see PWarren 21. 3); and suggests that the village was a dependency of a temple of Osiris.

κατοικ(ικῆς): the scribe wrote βασι, then altered the first three letters to κατο. The old category coexists with ἰδιωτικῇ later in the line, cf. Roberts and Skeat, *Aeg.* 13 (1933) 466.

32 (διαρτάβου): cf. 2473 19, where corn-land from the κλήρος of Rhodon and Agasicrates is divided between μονάρταβος and διάρταβος; 1031 12.

32-3 μεμισθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ πάτρια: cf. Lenger, *Corp. Ord. Ptol.* 53. 11 f. (royal ordinances of 118 B.C.) πλὴν τῶν μεμισθωμένων εἰς τὸ πατρικόν [καὶ] ὧν δ[ε] ἐγγύ(ημα) ὑπάρχει; a similar provision ib. 34 i 17 (PKroll, discussed by Koenen, *Ptolemäische Königsurkunde* 25). PHarris 138 i 24 (1st century A.D.) has εἰς τὰ πάτρια by itself; PPetaus 44. 13 (later 2nd cent.) μεμισθ. εἰς τὰ πατρικά. 3047 is still later than these. It might be thought that the phrase refers merely to a fossilized Ptolemaic land-category. But if τῷ γ (ἔτει) goes with what precedes, the lease was clearly a real one, contracted in 233/4 (13 Alexander Severus). The participle μεμισθ(ωμεν) is obviously passive, of the land leased; in *Corp.*

Ord. 53 it is normally taken as personal ('les fermiers qui ont un bail héréditaire et qui ont fourni caution'), which indeed the context suggests.

34 *Τυχιννεκώτεως*: 1659 54 etc.

35 α.....(): αἱ οὐσαι ³⁶ κλη(ρουχικαί) (Rea) makes excellent sense; but a high trace at the end of 35 (as of a suspended letter) remains unaccounted for. Alternatively, an abbreviated proper name Α.....() and then κλη(ρου); Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου) (cf. 37) is not satisfactory.

36 f. The same embankment and estate in 280 10.

44 ff. Each village has been checked off with a slanting stroke. Θμουνακωμ() is not attested elsewhere. The superscript final letter looks like *mu*, rather than an undifferentiated abbreviation-stroke.

3048. PROCLAMATION OF *IURIDICUS* AND REGISTRATION OF CORN

Plate XII

23 3B.13/E (3) a

15.5 × 34 cm.

17-18 March 246

This text is written across the fibres on the back of 3028; in the upper margin of 3028 are two short lines of cursive, which might doubtfully be read as a docket to 3048: ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἀπορχρ(αφής) καὶ προρχρ(άμματος). Basically, then, a sheet or roll of official correspondence was cut down and reused. But some further process seems to have intervened: there is a heavy *kollesis* to the left of 3048 (extending under the first two or three letters of each line), and this additional strip shows occasional line-ends from some previous writing.

The text has two parts, both written by the same hand:

1-9: proclamation of the *iuridicus* Aurelius Tiberius, requiring that all private stocks of corn in the city and nome (of Oxyrhynchus) be registered within twenty-four hours; in case of evasion, the treasury will confiscate both the corn and the house in which it is found. Date: 17 March A.D. 246.

10-24: registration submitted on the following day (18 March) by Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia: corn held by her at five villages in the lower and eastern toparchies, to the total of 5,045 artabas less amounts already committed for wages and other expenditure.

The proclamation presupposes a shortage of corn around Oxyrhynchus. The same situation had already been deduced from other documents of about the same date: in PErI. 18, of 27 October 248, the prytanis refers to supplies for the city, to the prevailing στενοχωρία, to gymnasiarchs discharging the eutheniarchy; 1418 mentions appointments to the eutheniarchy in A.D. 247; 2854 shows a gymnasiarch refusing the eutheniarchy on 12 November 248. (See N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 114.) 3048 shows just how severe the crisis was at one stage: so severe that the regime resorted to compulsory purchase at prices which would have been high even for the private market (6 note).

Shortage on this scale suggests a low Nile, or perhaps a series. There might be evidence for this in 3046 and 3047, declarations of land uninundated for 244/5: if, that is, the flood of 244 was defective, there will have been a poor harvest in 245; grain is always scarce, and prices high, in March, just before the new harvest; in March 246, with only the remnants of a poor crop, the shortage would have been severe. The argument is plausible but uncertain; it assumes that such declarations were

made only for bad years; against this see PMich. VI pp. 9 f. (D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil* 59 and 256, classifies the flood of 244 as 'good'; but her evidence is ambiguous.)

The proclamation requires private stocks to be registered; lines 10–24 contain a copy of a registration duly submitted by Calpurnia Heraclia through her guardians. The whole sheet will be a private copy for the use of her agents. This explains the use of scrap papyrus; and the abbreviated dates in 9 and 24.

Here too I am greatly indebted to Professor Youtie.

- ↓ ἐξ αὐθεντείας Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου τοῦ κρατίστου δικαιοδότου.
 ὅσοι σεῖτον ἔχουσι ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τ[ῶ] νομῶ, ἀπογραφά-
 σθωσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν τὰς τροφὰς καὶ τὰς
 δημοσίας χρείας ἀνυσθῆναι ἐστὶν τῆς αὐρίου ἥτις ἐστὶν
- 5 Φαμενῶθ κβ" τοῦ ἀζημίου αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντος, λήμψεται γὰρ
 τὴν τειμὴν ἣν ὥριεν ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡμῶν ἡγεμῶν (δηναρίων) 5,
 γεινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐάν τις εὕρεθῇ μὴ ἀπογραφάμενος οὐ
 μόνον ὁ πυρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ οἰκία ἐνθα εὕρεσκειται ἐκδικηθήσεται
 τῶ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ. (ἔτους) γ" Φαμενῶθ κα⁻.
- 10 ἀ(ν)τίγραφον ἀπογρ(αφῆς).
 Αὐρηλ(ί)ω Τιβερίῳ τῶ κρα(τίστ)ῳ δικαιοδότῃ π(αρά) Καλπουρνίας Ἑρακλείας τῆς
 καὶ Εὐδαμίας
 θυγατρὸς Καλπουρνίου Θεώνος τῶν ἐν τῶ Μουσείῳ σειτηθέντων καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν
 διὰ Αὐρηλίου Περκύλλου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Θεώνος γυμνασιάρχῃσαντος πρυτανεύσαντος
 βουλ(ευτοῦ)
 τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Δημητ() καὶ ὡς
 χρημ(ατίζει) ἐπιτρόπων ἀπογράφομαι κατὰ
- 15 τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ σοῦ ὃν ἔχω πυρὸν ὑπὸ πραγματευτὰς (vac.)
 ἐν μὲν κτήρει μου περὶ Σοῦν (ἀρτ.) Ὑκ ἐν δὲ τῶ Δωσιθέου (ἀρτ.) σμε ...
 καὶ ἐν τῶ Ἰεῖου Τρύφω(νος) (ἀρτ.) σκ καὶ ἐν Θμοινειψώ(βθει) (ἀρτ.) υξ καὶ ἐν
 Αίλῃ (ἀρτ.) σπ
 κ]αὶ ἐν τῶ Κατύρου [(ἀρτ.)] φκ ...
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προκ[ειμ]ένων δίδονται μηνιαῖαι συντάξεις πραγματευταῖς τε
 20 καὶ φροντισταῖ[ς καὶ] γεωργοῖς καὶ παιδαρίοις καὶ καταμηνείοις,
 καὶ ἐν τῶ Κατύρου ...[...]. σν .αλλαγεῖσαι ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ διελθόντος μηνὸς
 Μεχ[εῖ]ρ Κοπρεῖ κ[αὶ] . . . πῶτι μαγεῖροις τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιότητος
 τ[ὸ] ἔλεον διεφθάρθ[αι] (ἀρτ.) σπζ.
 (ἔτους) γ" Φ[α]μενῶθ κβ⁻.

6 * 7 γεινωσκ-: κ corr. from χ 9 ἔερ- 10 α απογράφ 11 αὐρή κρς 13 τουκ
 βουλ 14 οξυρυγχ πολ χαιρη τουκ δημητ χρη 16 σουν 17 ἱσιου τρυφω θμουνεψω
 23 1. ἔλαιον

'On the authority of Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*:

All those who have corn in the city or in the nome, are to register (it), so that not only can the city have its supplies but also the public necessities can be fulfilled—tomorrow, which is Phamenoth 22—without sustaining any loss thereby, for one will receive the price which our most illustrious prefect has fixed i.e. 6 denarii—with the knowledge that if anyone is discovered not to have registered it, not only the corn but also the house in which it is found will be confiscated to the most sacred treasury. Year 3, Phamenoth 21.

Copy of return:

To Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum and however else he was styled, acting through Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, former gymnasiarch and prytanis, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Chaeremon alias Demet... and however he is styled, her guardians: I register in accordance with orders given by you the corn which I possess in the hands of my agents:

in my holding around Suis, 3,020 artabas; in Dositheu, 245 art. . . ; in Iseum Tryphonis 220 art.; in Thmoenepsobthis 460 art.; in Lile 280 art.; in Satyru 820 art. . . —Out of the above-mentioned, monthly allowances are given to the agents and stewards and farmers and boys and monthly workers. And in Satyru already pledged(?) from the past month Mecheir to Copres and []pos, cooks in the city, because the oil has gone bad from long keeping, 287 artabas.

Year 3, Phamenoth 22.'

1 ἐξ αὐθεντείας: see 2664 i note; 3050 i 7.

Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου: no doubt identical with the *iuridicus* Cl. Aurelius Tiberius who honours the Philippi in an inscription from Philippopolis, *Ann. Ép.* 1908, no. 274. This identification, and the mention of Calpurnia Heraclia (11 note), make it likely that the third year mentioned (9, 24) is that of Philip. The proclamation therefore dates from 17 March 246.

3-7 Something is wrong with the grammar. I assume that the words from ὑπὲρ τοῦ to ἀνυεθῆναι form a unit of two parallel clauses; and that γεινώσκοντες in 7 refers back to ἀπογραφάσθωσαν. Then we must assume a parenthesis. It might begin with 4 ἔστιν τῆς αὔριον (which will have to mean 'this can be done tomorrow'), and end with line 6. More probably it begins with 5 λήμψεται, and ends with 6; in that case ἐστιν τῆς αὔριον is a mistake (by anticipation) for ἐπὶ or ἐντὸς τῆς αὔριον. Whichever view is taken, λήμψεται must be simple error for λήμψονται. The sentence in general is an oddly compressed way of putting two separate notions: the registration of stocks, and the compulsory purchase of these stocks.

3 τὴν πόλιν: to judge from line 2, this city is Oxyrhynchus rather than Alexandria. It seems to follow that the proclamation was issued separately to each nome, or to this nome only.

4 δημοσίας χρείας: the phrase normally means 'liturgical duties' (W. Chr. 35 i 7, ii 1 and vso. 1; PMey. 8. 15; PFamTeb. 24. 54). It is not clear how the registration of corn would help the performance of these liturgies, except indirectly by assisting those concerned with collecting the *annona*. Youtie suggests that the point is much more basic: the government is trying to provide a subsistence for state officials, because even they are in danger of going hungry.

6 (δηναρίων) 5: 24 drachmas: for one artaba, presumably (the original proclamation must have stated this; the copyist has abridged, as he did the dates in 9 and 24). The price is high. We have two groups of comparative material:

prices in the normal market (Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 311; PSarapion p. 332)

PLond. 1226	A.D. 254 (?)	12 dr.
BGU 14	255	16
PErl. 101	269	24

prices for πυρὸς συναγοραστικός

2958	A.D. 99	16
2960	100	8
PSI 1262	137	8
PTebt. 394	149	7
2961-7	154	8

By the standards of compulsory purchase, then, 24 dr. per artaba is (even allowing for a century of gentle inflation since A.D. 154) a very stiff price; well above the norm of the open market at this date, and up to the level reached in the inflation of the 260s.

8 ὁ πυρὸς: this shows that *σειτόν* in 2 has the restricted meaning 'wheat', not the wider meaning 'grain'. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 95.

11 Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας: see 3047 2 note.

13 Πεκύλλο[ν]: this reading (by Dr. Rea) is supported by 1526 9, which mentions a Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) in A.D. 222/3; and by POslo 111, which has him as prytanis in 234/5.

16 ff. Suis, Dositheu, and Isium Tryphonis are in the lower toparchy; Thmoenepsobthis, Lile, and Satyru in the eastern toparchy. In 3047 Heraclia declares uninundated land in five villages, all in the eastern toparchy; these include Thmoenepsobthis.

16 (ἀρτ.) *σμε* . . . : the signs which follow the numeral recur, isolated, at the end of 18. We might expect a fraction; or a summation beginning with *γ(ίνονται)*. But I can find no convincing reading on these lines; and in any case neither suits 18. Prof. Youtie suggests that the original declaration had formulaic annotations by some official who checked the figures; the scribe of our copy failed to understand them, and simply drew what he thought he saw.

20 καταμηνείαις: e.g. 2155 8. The noun originally supplied was perhaps γεωργοί (PCZ IV 59-736. 36).

21 This is a new section, parallel with 16-18 (whereas 19-20 and 22-3 are further indented, to show that they merely continue what precedes). The 287 artabas are additional. They have some special status, somehow to do with two cooks from Oxyrhynchus and with oil which has gone rancid with age.

The crucial difficulty is the reading of the participle in line 21. Given that the letter before *αλλαγείσαι* could be either *ν* or *π*, the possibilities are: (1a) *συναλλαγείσαι*, (1b) . . . *προσυναλλαγείσαι*; (2a) *εὐπαλλαγείσαι*, (2b) . . . *προεσυναλλαγείσαι*. The objection to (1b) and (2b) is, that the verbs are not elsewhere attested. The objection to (1a) and (2a) is, that *προσ-* is a very plausible (though hardly a certain) reading; and *πρό(ς)* cannot be left in isolation.

If (1) were right, the corn was 'contracted' to the cooks, in place of oil which the estate had contracted to supply; if (2), it was mortgaged to them, in place of oil on which they had some kind of lien.

There remains the word(s) after *κατύρου*. The traces suggest *σπ[. . .]αι*; *σ* might be e.g. *ε*, *π* might be e.g. *ν*; . . . is the end of a high horizontal or linking stroke. Possibly *ἐπο[ι]κ(ίω) αἱ προσ-* (Rea).

3049. DEPOSIT OF GRAIN

19 2B.76/F (4-5) b

13 × 29 cm.

26 January/24 February 247

This sheet carries two versions of the same text. **A** is written along the fibres in a good hand without abbreviations; **B** is written on the back, across the fibres, in a hasty hand with many abbreviations and several interlinear additions. It might seem that **B** is the draft (it omits the final date-clause), and **A** the fair copy. Against this there are two considerations. (a) **B** has a number of important details which **A** omits. (b) The papyrus is torn in such a way as to bisect the first letter in each line of **A**; whereas the lines of **B** generally end well short of the edge. This may suggest that **B**

was written after **A**, and a subsequent tearing of the papyrus: and indeed we should expect the verso text to be the later. In that case **A** is the first draft, and **B** the second. Neither is the finished document, for the quantity of corn is not specified (a blank at **A** 10–11, ποσάς at **B** 14).

In the space below **A** are two notes, written across the fibres. The first, perhaps by the same hand as the main text, reads:

τις ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆς κύριος [καὶ ἐπε] ἑκὼν χωρη-
 ᾽θεις αὐτῇ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυείης
 γράμματ(α) [καὶ ἐπερ]

This is an unfinished draft subscription, designed perhaps for the guardian Callinicus (**A** 4–6) but expressed as a general formulary with *τις* (cf. e.g. 2677). The second note, in a different hand and upside-down in relation to the first, reads *κοῖτ(αι) τπε ὑπολόγ(ου)* (after this e.g. *θιγ(ων) or θ (ἐτους) νων*; or *θ* might be *α*: no possibility makes obvious sense).

The main text is a contract of deposit for a certain quantity of corn. PStrass. I 54 and PFouad 58 are similar contracts; 1472 is an application to the archidicastes for the recovery of such a deposit. The formulae follow normal lines: see 2677 and the introduction there. But the situation here envisaged is abnormal, for it straddles the private and the public domain: (a) the grain deposited includes ‘the additional percentages’ (**A** 11, **B** 16); (b) it is to be delivered, not to the depositor, but *τοῖς ἐπισταλῆσοις ναυκλήροις* (**A** 12, **B** 15); (c) the depositor is to receive a receipt for the grain once delivered. It is clear, then, that the corn is state corn, part of the *annona*; it is to be handed over to shippers sent from Alexandria for it; the depositor Asclepiades is still responsible for the consignment (**B** 18), but the actual delivery is carried out by Didymus-Antonius and the others with whom the deposit is made; the shippers transmit through them to Asclepiades receipts for the amount delivered. Many such receipts survive, and illustrate the process: 2670 1 and note.

This deposit, then, is a stage in the transmission of the *annona* from the responsible official to the shippers. Asclepiades was responsible, because he held office as decaprotus of the middle toparchy, and the corn was stored at Nemeræ in the same toparchy: these details are given only in **B**. He here delegates part at least of his responsibility; this arrangement is unique in the surviving documents about the shipment of the *annona*; one wonders why it should have been necessary, and what profit Didymus-Antonius and the others made from the transaction, which is at their own expense.

The decaprotus took over the functions of the sitologus. The office is first attested for Oxyrhynchus by this document, for the Hermopolite in W. Chr. 375 of 246, for Philadelphia in PLeit. 16 of 244/7. I have suggested in *JRS* 57 (1967) 136 f. that it was first created, at least as a universal institution, as part of a wider reorganization under Philip the Arabian. The object of the reorganization was to increase the yield of the *annona*, and to facilitate its collection and transport; it may have been prompted by the

B

- ↓ Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος
 βουλευτ(ῆς) τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δί-
 δυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς οἱ γὰρ Σαραπ(άμ)μωνος
 Φανίου γυμνα(σιαρχήσαντος) τῆς [[Ὁξύρυγχ(ειτῶν)]] ἀ(ὕτης) πόλ(εως), ἡ δὲ
 5 Ἀμμωνοῦς μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ
 κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη {τοῦ δεδομένου
 αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη} τοῦ ἑτέρου
 αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Καλλινείκου Α(ὕρηλιω) Ἀσκληπι(ά)δῃ
 γυμνα(σιαρχήσαντι) ἐνάρχ(ω) πρυτ(άνει) βου(λευτῇ) τῆς ἀ(ὕτης) πόλ(εως) δεκα-
 10 πρῶτῳ μέσῃς τοπ(αρχίας) χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν
 ἔχειν σου ἐν παραθέσει (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διε(λθόντος) γ (ἔτους)
 Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καيسάρων τῶν
 κυρίων σεβαστῶν ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέραις
 μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) ἀρτάβ(ας) ποσὰς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) vac.
 15 καὶ ταύτας παραδώσομεν τοῖς ἐπισταλτο-
 μένοις ναυκλήροις [[ναυκλή(ροις)] ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμ]] εὖν ταῖς ἐπομέναις
 ἑκατος-
 ταῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις ἡμῶν δαπάναις αἱ ἐὰν
 γείνωνται [[ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμερῶν]] σοῦ μόνον ἐπακολουθοῦντος
 καὶ τούτων ἀποχὰς σοὶ ἐποίσομεν καθαρὰς
 20 ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀ(ὕτης) Νεμερῶν τῆς πράξεως σοὶ οὔσης
 παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων
 εἰς ἔκτεισιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἰρή
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν πάντων.
 κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διςδὸν γραφέν
 25 πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν-
 τες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁμολογήσαμεν.

2 βουλευτ οξύρυγχ πδ 4 γυμνας οξύρυγχ α⁻ 8 α⁻ 9 γυμνας εναρχ πρυτς
 βου⁻ α⁻ πδ 10 το) 11 ⚡ γενήμας διε⁻ γς 12 ἰου- 14 ὅαρτα^β /-
 17 ἰδαις 20 α⁻ 21 -εγ'γνων

(Translation of B) 'The Aurelii Didymus alias Antonius, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Pallas alias Didymus, and Ammonous, all three children of Sarapammon son of Phantias, former gymnasiarch of the said city, Ammonous with the guardian assigned to her in accordance with the customs of the Romans, (namely) their other brother Callinicus: to Aurelius Asclepiades former

gymnasiarch, prytanis in office and senator of the said city, decaprotus of the middle toparchy: greetings.

We acknowledge that we hold from you on deposit, of the corn of the produce of the past 3rd year of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares our lords the Augusti, in the village Nemerac, by the public half-artaba measure, such-and-such a quantity. And this we will hand over to the ships' captains who shall be sent for it, together with the percentages attaching, at our own expense whatever the expense may be: you are to exercise supervision (in this delivery), but nothing more (?). And for this (corn) we shall present you with receipts, free from any kind of flaw, at the said Nemerac; you have the right of execution upon us, who guarantee one another mutually for payment, and upon whichever of us you choose, and upon all our possessions. This chirograph is valid, being written in two copies, wherever it is produced and for whoever produces it on your behalf, and in answer to your question we have made acknowledgement.'

A 2 Πα., ac: the scribe wrote Παλας or Πατας; whereas B 2 certainly has Παλλας or Παττας. Πατας and Παττας might be alternative spellings of a single name (PPetaus. 10. 6 n.), but neither is known to NB or *Onomasticum*. I assume that Παλλας is correct in B, and miswritten in A.

2-3 Sarapammon is not in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches*.

6-7 Asclepiades is here prytanis, in Mecheir 247. He appears as ex-prytanis in proceedings of Thoth 247 (1418). Presumably his successor took office on 1 Thoth. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 63.

11-12 ἑκατοσταῖς: cf. 2670 34-6 note.

B 18 ἐπακολουθοῦντος: in some of the receipts issued by shippers, the grain is said to have been loaded ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τεταγμένων καὶ ὧν ἄλλων δέον ἐστὶν (PSI 1053; 2125 12; probably 1259 20). Asclepiades is still strictly responsible for the grain, and must therefore provide his ἐπακολούθησις; but that is all (μόνον), the rest of the work falls to Didymus-Antonius and the others. Alternatively, μόνον might emphasize κοῦ: 'You, and no one else, have the right of ἐπακολούθησις.'

3050. PROCLAMATION AND OFFICIAL LETTERS

19 2B.75/K (4) a

11 × 31.5 cm.

Third century

Remains of two columns, the second at full height and the first nearly so. The sheet was cut down, so that only line-ends and line-beginnings remain; the initial lacuna in col. i is of c. 50 letters. The cut-down sheet was used for an account of jars, 3081 below. It was at this stage, presumably, that a single unfinished line was written between the two columns and at right angles to them; its beginning was hatched out, and the rest deleted with a single horizontal line. It reads: [c. 17] [καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀπὸ μὲν α. [...], λου φορίμης καὶ τῶν περι].

The script of col. ii is more upright and less rapid than that of col. i: probably a different writer.

The main text is a collection of official documents:

i 9-27 proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris (c. 246-8) περί τε παρορισμῶν [καὶ ; a procedure is laid down for those who have such encroachments to complain of; the procedure involves decaproti and horiodeictae. There is some similarity with PLeit. 16, of 244/7, in which the petitioners complain of being assigned too much land (and the tax on it) in the registers; they appeal to the decaproti, invoking orders of Marcellus and Salutaris (ll. 24-5); the procedure is, that the comogrammateus and

horiodeictes should assist in a fresh survey of the disputed areas. Both exaggerations and encroachments have to be rectified, if the land-register is to be strictly accurate; and Marcellus and Salutaris perhaps had a special interest in an up-to-date survey of their province's resources (*JRS* 57 (1967) 135). It is even possible that 3050 dealt with both topics; at least τε suggests that something parallel with παρορισμῶν followed. In that case, this proclamation might be the one referred to in PLeit. 16. 24-5.

What follows is much more obscure. χαίρειν i 35 begins a letter; ἐνέτυχον ii 7, if first person, suggests a petitioner reviewing the past history of his case.

ii 29-35 and 38-43 are letters of Lissenius Proculus. Before the first is a heading, or possibly another short letter (ii 26-8). Before the second are two lines of connecting narrative. Nothing certain offers in the content except 37 τοὺς ἀφήλικα[ς].

Lissenius Proculus appears as acting prefect in PSI 870. This office normally falls to the *iuridicus*. The date is quite uncertain: PSI 870 was assigned 'to the second rather than to the third century' on palaeographic grounds. 3050 might contribute to the problem, if we could determine the link between the different items copied.

If the collection is a collection of precedents, the items may be widely separated in time. I see no way of excluding this possibility. But the length of the pieces quoted, and the connecting lines ii 36-7, weigh against it. If on the other hand the collection is one of incoming correspondence (*epistulae receptae*) or of documents relating to a single case or litigant, the items should cohere chronologically. The second of these is the more attractive: Lissenius Proculus (perhaps as *iuridicus*, cf. i 31) is addressed in i 35 ff. and replies in ii 26 ff.

3050 thus gives some ground for assigning Lissenius Proculus to the same period as Marcellus and Salutaris, and for redating PSI 870. This date can be supported on other grounds: see now J. R. Rea, *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

	Col. i		Col. ii
→	]η'	I	[
	]...[χαριν....		καὶ οἰκοπέδων[
	]αφροντιστον		ὁάσεως διὰ τοῦ...[
	]ανέστρεψεν		...ιας καὶ...ενε[
5	]	5	...]αι τούτων....[
	]		αυτοῖς...[
	]...ε παρορισμῶν		ἐνέτυχον καὶ...[
	]...ιῆ		τῆς ἐπιστρατηγ...[
	]ν καὶ Μαρκίου Καλου-		μοι δίκαια προσ[
10	]	10	παραγγείλας οἰα[
	]περί τε παρορισμῶ(ν)		γνωρίμων μοι [
	]ἐλάττονας ἀρούρας		ὑποστῆναι ων[
	]...τας ζητήσεις περὰ		δίκην οἱ δὲ εἰς το[
	]...δεκαπρώτοις ἐν		τοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶ[
15	]τοῖς τῆς τοπαρχίας	15	ἦλθον σοὶ ἐξέπι[
	]μετακαλεσαμε-		τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ βοή[θείας
	]ὀριοδεικτῶν καὶ		καλῶ κατὰ τὴν[
	]εἶναι μ[ε]ταξὺ αὐ		αὐθεντίας πρεμ[
	]...η...[...ασθαι ἔν' οὕτω		ἐπικρατεῖν[
20	]παύσεται καὶ	20	αἱ διατάξεις [
	]διδῶ καὶ εἰτι		Αὐρηλ() Ἑρμοκλ[
	]ηστέτυ		δως...[...ραμμ[
	]... τούτῳ τῷ πρα		[
	]εἰντοί τινες		[
25	]εσθαι πρὸς	25	[
	]ν ἐκάστοις τα		Λισση[νι
	ἐ]ντυχεῖν. πρόθεσ.		περὶ πρὸς...[
	]		νομον ἐπι...[
	]ειδωσι τοῖς τε δε		Λισσήνιος Πρ[όκλος
30	]	30	ἐχρῆν μὲν α...[
	]ιοδοτου		νον τε πολλὰ α[
	]		τῆς ἡγεμονίας [
	]...ν...[...αχωνσιος		]...[
	]		αγαγεῖν ὑπερ[
35	]χαίρειν.	35	(ἔτους) β" Ἐπεὶ φ[
	]...ιος Ἀνουβίωνος		ἐγράφη δὲ κα[
	]α...ματα Ἑρακλεῖ		τοὺς ἀφῆλικά[ς
	]ἐπ...τῆς δικαί		Λισσήνιος Π[ρόκλος
	]...[.....]		[
		40	καὶ Κύριλλα[
			ἀπει...ων[
			τὴν νομῆ[
			(ἔτους) γ [

c. 4 lines lost

i 12 ελατ' τονας ii 10 παραγ' γειλας

i 7-8 A heading (subject and date of the proclamation), as in ii 26-8 and (in narrative form) ii 36-7. Cf. 3026 introd.

7 παρορισμῶν: note PMilVogl. IV 251. 3-4, which mentions a report of a horiodeictes παρορισμοῦ γινομέν(ου); BGU 616.

9-27 Proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris. The format is the same as in 2664. 9-10 might be restored accordingly: ἐξ αὐθεντείας Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου Σαλου[ταρίου τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν σεβαστῶν ± 14]. This gives an initial lacuna of c. 50 letters. I have assumed from the spacing that there was a short line of writing between 9 and 11. But the space is not so marked as to make this certain.

13 πέρα? περᾶ[ναι?

15]τοῖς τῆς τοπαρχίας: presumably δεκαπρώ]τοῖς or τοῖς τῆς τ. [δεκαπρώτοῖς. The other officials likely to be involved had authority only in their own village (comogrammateus, horiodeictes: for the latter see PCairIsid. 3. 10 note).

21 ff. might be restored on the lines of 3017 2-3 and 13: εἴ τι[νες . . . ὑπογραφ]ῆς τετυ[χ]ήκας; 24 εἰ μ[έντοι τινες . . .

23 E.g. τούτῳ τῷ πρα[γματικῷ (PLeit. 16. 9 note).

26 ἐκάστοις τα: restore τὰ | [ἴδια? The phrase is used of the rectification of παρορισμοὶ in BGU 616 (verb ἀποκαταστήσαι) and PRossGeorg. II 21. 17-18 (verb παρα[δοῦναι]).

29 E.g. ἔν'] εἰδῶσι τοῖς τε δε[καπρώτοῖς. If this is right, the note refers back to the proclamation. 31 may be the heading of a new document: a letter (35) from or to the *iuridicus* (31).

31 Probably δικα[ιοδότου.

33 ν is probable; before it a horizontal, like the cross-bar of ε; after it probably π. Perhaps e.g. δ]ε ὑπ[ὸ Τ]αχώνειος.

36]ωνειος might be possible, but not]ωνειος; it would be convenient to find a connection with 33, which from its position should belong to a summary of the letter which follows. Alternatively]ωνιος?

37 Probably γρ[άμματα. 'Ηρακλει- may then have been the writer of these 'letters'. If the whole collection of documents belongs to the 240s, only two known high officials come into question: the prefect Aur. Sept. Heraclitus, in office in 215; and the prefect Heraclius, known only from the undated 1313 (third cent.).

38 Apparently not ἐπιστολῆς; perhaps ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικα[ιοδοσίας?

39 If this column finished opposite ii 43, there will have been four more lines.

ii 6 At the beginning e.g. οὔτ' οὐ.

10 παραγγείλας: e.g. 2343 7, of the prefect's instructions to the petitioner.

21 Is this the subscription of the petition (which one might otherwise have supposed to terminate not long after the βοήθεια-phrase in 16)? -κλη[ς or -κλη[ν suits the trace; not -κλε[.

22 Not εἰ[δότος γράμμ[ατα. Perhaps e.g. ἐπι]δόςῃ γράμμ[ατα.

26-8 Is this the heading of the letter which follows, or a letter itself?

27 Perhaps περὶ προσώπων; or περὶ Προσωπ[ιτ-.

30 α. . .: π[or τ. . .

41 E.g. ἀπείρων [, ἀπειλῶν [.

IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3051. RECEIPT FOR ARREARS OF RENT

33 4B.79/E (1-3) a

21 × 20.7 cm.

Plate XI

1 May 89

This receipt was given by the steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, a former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria. Theon had leased out land from the Seneca estate to Petsiris; rent both in cash and in kind was owing; Petsiris' son here settles the debt in a single cash payment. Petsiris also had debts to the steward's own father; a final safeguard (lines 8-11) stipulates that the obligation to settle these is not affected by the present transaction.

It is likely enough that Petsiris had died, leaving his creditors to his son. This copy of the receipt has no subscription, but was certainly folded for preservation.

For similar texts see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenpacht* 273 f.

The background is illuminated by 2873, published with commentary by G. M. Browne, *BASP* 5 (1968) 16 ff. The document is a withdrawal from lease, dated A.D. 62; it is submitted by two farmers (sublessees) to Ti. Claudius Theon, *μισθωτῆς τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου Σενέκα οὐσίας*. If this is the same Theon as in 3051, he seems to have held the Seneca estate for over twenty-seven years.

The chief interest of the piece is palaeographic. The hand is an elegant and formal one with few ligatures (it degenerates into cursive only in the date, lines 11-12). The sporadic tall ε and the flattened ω look forward to the Severe Style and similar hands of the mid second century; 3051 should figure with PGissUnivBibl. 20 and PBremen 5 (both early in the reign of Hadrian) among the dated forerunners of those hands.

The back is blank.

→]εινος οἰκ[ον]όμος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Θεωνος τῶν
γεγυμνα]σιαρχηκότων καὶ ἡγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρεί-
ας]ωι Πετσίρεως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος τοῦ Πανεχώτου
.....]. παρὰ [ς]οῦ εἰς τὸν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κλαυδίου
5 Θεωνος λό]γον λ[ο]ιπὸν ἐκφορ[ε]ῶν καὶ ἀργυρικῶν φόρων
.....]. ν ὧν ἐγέω[ρ]γει ὁ προγεγραμμένος πατήρ
..... Σε]νεκ[ι]ανῆς [ο]υσίας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων
..... ἀρ]γυρίου δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόσιαι (γίνονται) (δρ.) ψ μένοντος
μοι τοῦ λ]όγου τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῷ πατρί μου Κλαυδίῳ
10]. ὑπ[ὸ] τ[ο]ῦ π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμένου πατρός σου Πετ-
σίρεως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος. (ἔτους) η Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Δομ[ι]τιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νὸς) Γερμανικεῖου ἑκ[τ]ῆι.

8 / 5 ψ

‘[]inus, steward of Tiberius Claudius Theon, former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria, to . . . son of Petsiris alias Libo and grandson of Panechotes, greetings. I have received from you, for the account of the above-mentioned Claudius Theon, arrears of rent in kind and rent in money for . . . arouras which your above-mentioned father farmed in former times, being part of the Seneca estate . . . seven hundred drachmas of silver, making 700 dr., without prejudice to my rights in respect of the debt owing to my father Claudius [] from your above-mentioned father Petsiris alias Libo. Year 8 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month Germaniceus sixth.’

1 A Ti. Claudius Theon was one of the landowners involved in constructing a dike at Tychin-necotis in A.D. 83/4 (290 29); property πρότερον Κλαυδίου Θέωνος is mentioned in A.D. 101 (510 15 f.). Either or both might be identical with the Theon of 2873 and 3051.

2 γεγυμνα]κυρρχηκότων: add Ti. Claudius Theon to Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches* 44.

4]: the expected formula is χα(ίρειν)· ἀπέχ]ω (χαίρειν without abbreviation exceeds the space).

6 ὦν: the relative need have no noun attached, see PHamb. 8. 6. But ἀρουρ]ῶν would fit conveniently before it.

.....: the letters are much damaged. We expect πατήρ σου; there is enough ink for πατήρ σου Πετ]ρίς (Youtie). But the first trace is rather straight for c. Possibly μου was written by mistake.

8 δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόσιαι: if the supplement ἀπέχ]ω (4) is right, we expect an accusative. The nominative may be a mistake; or the beginning of the line might be restored ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρ]γυρίου.

9 τῷ πατρί μου: the steward has received one payment on behalf of his master; he wishes to make it clear that this in no way affects his own rights as representative (or heir) of his father. The father was a Roman citizen; the son must similarly have borne the *nomen* Claudius (either abbreviated or omitted in line 1, to judge from the space).

3052. ITINERARY

5 1B.42/G (c)

17 × 17.5 cm.

First century

The papyrus is broken at the top; but the content suggests that little, if anything, preceded line 1. The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank. The hand, which is virtually without ligatures, belongs to the earlier first century; dated parallels are listed in the introduction to 2435.

The text is the itinerary of a journey from Nicopolis to (perhaps) Oxyrhynchus. The travellers enter Egypt, line 2 (that is, they leave Alexandria); and reach Nicopolis on Mecheir 17. Subsequent stages have numbers, from 1 to 9 or 10. These numerals might represent days of the month; but in that case nearly two weeks passed at Nicopolis. It seems more likely that the numbers simply index the successive days of the journey.

The towns named, so far as they are legible and identifiable, suggest a journey by water: from *Nicopolis* by canal to Schedia, and then south on the Canopic branch past *Hermoupolis* Minor (cf. Strabo 17. 1. 16 and 22); south again on the main stream past *Babylon* and *Memphis* to *Aphrodito*; west along the Fayyūm canal, past *Venne*, to join the Baḥr Yūsuf at *Ptolemais* Hormu; along the Baḥr Yūsuf past *Caene* (?) and *Tacona* (?) to Oxyrhynchus.

This explains why the stages include both Memphis, on the west bank, and Babylon and Aphrodito, on the east bank. The land routes naturally stay on one bank: *Itinerarium Antonini* (155. 1 ff.) Chereu, Hermoupoli, Andro, Niciu, Letus, Memphis, Peme, Isiu, Caene, Tacona, Ossirincho; *Tabula Peutingeriana* (see K. Miller, *Itin. Rom.* 852 ff.) Alexandria, Melcati, Naucrati, Niciu, Auleu, Memphis, Venne, Sinottū, Ptolemaidonar, Heracleo, etc. The land route would be quicker: the *Itin. Antonini* reckons five days from Chereu to Memphis, our travellers took nine days from Nicopolis. Of course they were going against the current; and took time off for a bath on at least five days.¹

The coincidences between this itinerary (a purely private document) and the literary ones are interesting. *Venne* is known only from the papyrus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

.

→ α [
 εἰς Αἴγυπτο[ν Με]χέρ ιζ̄ εἰς Νει-
 κόπολιν ᾱ εἰς [. β̄ εἰς] Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν γ̄
 εἰς . . . εἰαμ . . [.] . . ἐλουσάμεθα [δ̄
 5 εἰς .ετ.η̄ ε̄ εἰς [. ἐλο]υσάμεθα καὶ ἐμί-
 ναμεν .αλλα' ν' τε . [.] θίου ἐλουσάμεθα [
 εἰ ω̄ ζ̄ εἰς Πε . [.] μεθα ᾱ . την ἡ̄ παρε[μ-
 βολῇ Ἀγαθοκλέος ε̄] λουσάμεθα θ̄ Βαβυλῶν
 παρεμ[βολῇ] εἶτα' Μένφεις . εἶτα εἰς φύλακας Ἀφροδειτῶ
 10] . [. . .] εἶτα Οὐεννέ εἶτα Πτολεμαεὶς εἶτα [[λευκογε]] Κεν . .
] . εἶτα . . ᾱ . . . []

¹ Perhaps αἰλ or αἰα. The papyrus breaks off just above this line, which may or may not have been the beginning of the text.

³ εἰς [.] : perhaps [Χαιρέου, which precedes Hermoupolis in the *Itin. Antonini*. 1749 assesses costs of water-transport from this town to Niciu, Heracleopolis, and Cynopolis.

⁴ . . . εἰαμ . . [: before ε perhaps η or ν; after μ perhaps η, then the left side of γ or π.
] . . : perhaps] . [.] ω.

⁵ εἰς .ετ.η̄ : apparently Νετλ[[ε]]η (though the first letter might possibly be καρρα). Not known to *WB* III or *WBSuppl*.

εἰς [: a curving tail, as of ρ or υ.

⁵⁻⁷ We have to restore ζ̄ somewhere in line 6. (a) 6-7 ἐλουσάμεθα [ς] | εἰς . . . ω looks satisfactory; if so, the travellers bathed twice on the fifth day. (b) 6 e.g. [ζ̄ εἰς . . .] θίου; in that case the travellers proceeded εἰς . . . ω after their bath (or εἰ . . . ω must be restored differently).

⁶ .αλλαντε[: the first letter looks like a τ closely followed by remains of another upright: probably π, in the form characteristic of this hand. At the end, a low curve as of c. I can make nothing of παλλαντε[; and Παλλαντεο[is not promising as a proper name.

¹ Dr. Rea compares the extract from Alexander's Journals, Arrian *Anab.* 7. 25 f. (*FGrH* 117 F 3): *ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον . . . ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι κτλ.*

]θίου: of θ parts of the loop and a trace of cross-bar to the left (θ rather than β ε φ; not Νε]κίου).
 7 εἰς Πε,: if what follows is ἐλουσά]μεθα, the place-name can have only three or four letters.
 Περ[would be a good reading (remains of the loop and of the shaft of ρ).

α,την: foot of upright, and left-hand arc, as for αἰστην. Seemingly not δις (which in any case leaves την without function).

7-8 παρε[μ]βολή Ἀγαθοκλέ[υ]ς: I have not found this place-name attested. As a speculation, I note that Agathocles son of Oenanthe, as 'guardian' of Ptolemy V, sent Scopas to recruit new mercenaries with the intention τοὺς ἀρχαίους καὶ προϋπάρχοντας ξένους ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια καὶ τὰς κατοικίας ἀποστεῖλαι (Pol. 15. 25. 17). The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registers no high-ranking soldiers called Agathocles.

9 Μένφεις: the trace which follows is of an upright. Perhaps the numeral ι (the stroke above it lost); but εἴτα is then superfluous.

φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ: φύλακας rather than φυλακάς. This entry supports the restoration ἐν Ἀφροδ[ι]της πόλει at PHib. 198. 126-7, in a list of φυλακαί. The guards must have manned a customs post: compare the Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακή (PHib. 198. 130), which Strabo 17. 1. 41 describes as τελώνιον τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων.

The ship-canal for the Arsinoite leaves the Nile opposite Aphrodito; the travellers must have turned along it, to reach Ptolemais Hormu (10). On the canal see Wiken, *Corolla Archeologica* (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 2, 1932) 272 f.; he remarks that Strabo too seems to have used it, since his description proceeds from Aphroditopolis to the Arsinoite and then to the Heracleopolite.

10 Οὐννέ must be the *Venne* mentioned by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* after Memphis and before *Ptolemaidonar* (i.e. Ptolemais Hormu?) and *Heracleo*.

Πτολεμαίς: sc. Ὁρμου. See PPetaus pp. 22 ff.

[λευκογε]: the scribe began to write Λευκογεῖον, the southern river-port of the Fayyūm. The superscript might be read κενη i.e. Καινή: a suitable town, being on the Baḥr Yūsuf. This depends partly on what terminus is reached in the next line.

11 ..α...[]: difficult. I had tried Ἡρακλέ[ου]ς: against this (a) ε[looks much more like ο[, and there is no room for λ before it; (b) if Κενή is right in 10, Heracleopolis is well behind us. A better guess would be Τακ[να], which the *Itin. Anton.* gives as the last stage on the road before Oxyrhynchus. Against this: there is more space and ink than the initial τ can explain.

3053. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

34 4B.77/L (1-3) a

9.8 × 16.3 cm.

28 October/26 November 252

This document exactly parallels 73 (A.D. 94) and 3054 (A.D. 265). It states that the owner of a slave has registered him (ἀπεγράψατο), declaring his ownership by a document submitted (ὑπόμνημα) and an oath in writing (χειρογραφία); details are given about the slave and about the circumstances of the purchase. The registration is made through the agoranomi or their substitutes.

73 has been discussed by Mitteis, *Gz.* 184; Woess, *Untersuch. ü. d. Urkundenwesen* 170 ff.; Seidl, *Der Eid* i 90 f.; Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale* 234 f.

263 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 77) and SB 7533 ('Upper Egypt', A.D. 160/1) illustrate the previous submission and oath referred to (lines 10-11). In these documents the seller of a slave addresses the agoranomi; he swears that he has sold the slave, that the slave was his property, and that he has received the price—in effect, then, affirms on oath the contents of the deed of sale (which in SB 7533 follows on the same sheet). The same procedure, but for a sale of land, appears in 100 of A.D. 133 (revised text and bibliography in *CPJ* iii 454).

'Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, in the month Neos Sebastos . . . , Hathyr . . . , in the city of the Oxyrhynchî, through Aurelius Antipater alias Dionysius who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion.

Marcus Aurelius Marcianus alias Heracles, son of Isidorus and grandson of Demetrius, of the Euthenodotean tribe and the Althaeon deme, aged about 37, no distinguishing marks, registered this present day, in the street, the slave whom he declared in the memorandum he submitted and the written oath he made to belong to him, purchased by him under a Greek contract made in Aurelia Tripolis in Phoenicia in the past 2nd year from Marcus Aurelius . . . Silvanus, an Osrhoenian—the female slave by name Balsamea, by race Osrhoenian Mesopotamian, age about 17, scars on the upper lip to the left and on the right knee, imported by sea, in the said past 2nd year, Epeiph 26, in a boat belonging to Marcus Aurelius Dioscorus, (type?) *akatos*, (figurehead?) Urania, in the said street.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Marcianus, have registered (the slave) as above.'

5 f. The slave-sale 1209 (dated to an uncertain year of Gallus) is transacted before the same Antipater; there, as here and in 73 and 3054, the month has a double name, and the writer leaves a blank for the numeral after each element.

6 ἀρχολ[ου]μ(ένου): see 1208 2 note; add 1709 (A.D. 224), 1562 (276/82), 3054 (265), PStrass. 264 (277/82), SB 8971 (late 3rd century). The documents show that the agoranomeion was regularly farmed, as early as 224 and as late as 291, to administrators with this title.

9 Εὐθηνოდότ[ε]ς: this must be the correct form, parallel to Ἀγαθοδότειος. 1707 4 prints Εὐθηνοδίου, which must be a mistake; PSI 464. 4 has only εὐθ.ν[.]

10 δν: the writer forgot to adapt his formula to the feminine.

12 δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικόν: 3054 9 f., PRossGeorg. III 27 (Alex. Severus), PVindBosw. 7. 17 (A.D. 225); δίπλωμα alone BGU 913. 3 (A.D. 206). Of the slave-sales referred to in these five documents, four certainly took place outside Egypt; this fact suggests that PVindBosw. 7. 17 ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τόποις should be interpreted in the same sense. Indeed, we should not expect sales in diploma form in Egypt; whereas they are the norm e.g. in Dura Europos.

On diplomata see J. F. Gilliam, *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967) 233 f., *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 65 ff. BGU 913, a slave-sale from Myra in Lycia, describes itself as a diploma, though no trace of a second text remains.

13 Ἀὐρηλία Τριπόλει: the famous Tripoli in Phoenicia, but I find no other evidence for the title *Aurelia*. The British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia* (1910), records ample third-century issues up to and including Elagabalus; no title appears beyond ναραρχία (under Elagabalus: pp. 222 ff.), which was already attested under Hadrian by OGI 587. If then an emperor conferred the *Aurelia* after the reign of Elagabalus and before the date of our document, it must have been Alexander Severus. This may be confirmed by a coin in the British Museum (*Cat.* p. 226 no. 139), with the unique inscription ΤΡΙΠΟ() ΜΕΤΡ(opolis) ΠΟΕΝΙ(ciae); the image is obscured by double striking and corrosion, but doubtfully identified as Alexander Severus.¹

For the process we may compare the elevation of Sidon to colonial status by Elagabalus: its new title is *Colonia Aurelia Pia Metropolis Sidon*. Alexander Severus showed himself active in the province, perhaps because he passed through on the way to the Parthian front; he certainly restored the title *Metropolis* to Tyre, and conferred it on Caesarea Maritima (see Kadman, *Corp. Numm. Pal.* II p. 24, IV p. 24). Tripoli perhaps benefited from the same occasion.

14 Δε.των.': apparently Δεγ'τ- or Δετ'τ-; at the end -voc or possibly -νη. E.g. Δέττωνος, with Σιλβανοῦ as patronymic. But neither Δέττων nor Δέγτων is attested.

15 Βαλσαμέαν: the masculine Βαλσαμῆς is quoted from Lidzbarski, *Eph. f. sem. Epigr.* 1 p. 260.

16 Μεσοποταμηνήν: elsewhere the adjective seems to be Μεσοποταμίτης or Μεσοποτάμιος.

¹ Mr. Martin Price has been kind enough to inspect the coin, which is still unique in the British Museum collection. He confirms the reading of the legend; and adds (a) that]CAES[EV]ALEX[is a possible reading of the obverse; (b) that neither the profile nor the general style of the coin really compares with at least the commoner types of Caracalla and Elagabalus.

τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ δημοσίου ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει
 20 τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δίῳ παρὰ ιδδαθ.
 μολ. ανου βουλευτοῦ δι.....ος γενομέ[ν]ου
 ἐν φυλῇ Διός, καὶ αν.....αμεν.[.] κατ'
 ὠνῆν δι.....η πόλει δημ[ο]σίῳ(ν)
 παρὰ] Σεπτιμίας Εἰ.....νας Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
 25 τα αν.....ογενῆ εκ.....ρι
λῆς νομ[...].ομ.....α..α.[...].

4 αγορς 15 1. λευκόχρων 16 1. ἀραιόφρυν 17 -στραβῶ 18 κατ' 20 ιδ'δαθ.
 22 κατ' 23 δημοσιῶ

'Year 12 of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Lous , Payni , in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Serenothion who has in charge the farm of the agoranomcion. Aurelia . . . , daughter of Simon, from Bostra in Syria, of the tribe . . . , . . . , registered on the present day the slave whom she declared in the memorandum she submitted and the written oath she made to belong to him (?), purchased by him (?) under a Greek contract made at Bostra on the Ides of February in the consulship of Albinus for the second time and Dexter from Aurelius Julianus Maximus, *tribu Sergia* (?), . . . senator . . . of the tribe *Romana*(?) —the slave Prokopton by name, afterwards renamed (?) Aptus, aged about . . . , white skin, slightly flat faced, scanty eyebrows, short nose, scars on the left forehead and eyebrow and jawbone, slight squint—bought by Julianus himself under a sale transacted through the public record office in the said city in the said year in the month Dios (from?) . . . Molianus, senator for ever (?) (and?) formerly in the tribe of Zeus, who had himself bought (him) under a sale (transacted) though the public records (?) in the said city from Septimia . . . daughter of Septimius Severus . . . belonging to her as born in her house, the child of . . . (?)'

1 ἔτους ιβ': the top and foot of a long vertical, which I take to be ι; then the straight right side of a letter, suitable for β or η. We have a *terminus post* in line 11: 13 February A.D. 263. Only one suitable year offers before Constantine, i.e. 12 Gallienus = 264/5. The difficulty lies in the reading of the name. Προπλίον is very satisfactory; so is πριον. But Αικ is dubious, with unexplained ink below the putative ι. And the space certainly excludes Γαλλιηνοῦ.

3 After each month name, a blank space for the numeral.

5 Ἀβρηλία τις: -ία seems clear. But nothing is said of a guardian, whether acting or dispensed with; and the pronouns are masculine in 9. The second name begins with κ or ν.

6 φυλῆς Αν[.]: for the genitive cf. 13. Tribal organization at Bostra was already attested by IGR III 1276 ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς Σομαιθηνῶν and 1277 ἐπισκοπούτων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταιηνῶν.

Αν[.]: the trace looks most like a high arc (left side of ο or top half of ε, for example); but it's very uncertain. It is not clear what sort of name to expect: the inscriptional tribes are named from clans or families (A. H. M. Jones, *CERP* 293); but 3054 has φυλὴ 'Ρωμ., α in 13 and φυλὴ Διός in 22. (Exactly these three types in Asia Minor: Levick, *Anat. Stud.* 15 (1965) 56 n. 42.) The word may continue into the next line.

7 The parallels (73 12, 3053 9) give the age and description of the registrant, then ἐν ἀγνιᾷ. The reconstruction depends on the trace after ως. I have taken it as a year sign, though it is not so extended as in 15. But only the flat base is at all clear. Otherwise -ως might belong to line 6.

11 13 February A.D. 263.

12 .εργια: there are two traces: a high point on the edge of the break, and a horizontal joining ε at its mid point. (a) The seller is called simply Julianus in 18. Even so .εργια(c) might be part of his

full name. But I have found no suitable name attested. (b) *Ζεργία* might be this citizen's Roman tribe. We have to take the high trace as the end of the *v* preceding, which has then to be unusually wide; or else as the bottom angle of [β]' above. This seems to be the better solution.

13 *φυλῆς* is the firm point. What follows is its name. I am inclined to read *Ῥωμαίας*: cf. a local *Tribus Romana* at Pisidian Antioch, *Anat. Studies* 15 (1965) 54. Dr. Shelton suggests instead *Ῥωμιλίας* (the Roman tribe *Romilia*); this may be right; but the difficult trace looks more like the loop of *a* than the angle of *λ*.

At the beginning *γεν* is suggested: some form of *γενόμενος*?

14 *Προκόπτοντα*: I have not found the name attested, but it's clearly suitable to be translated *Aptus* (15). The rest of the line will mean 'afterwards renamed'. *ὑστερον* might be possible, but not *ὑστερον* δέ. *ἐπικληθέντα* and *μετονομασθέντα* will not fit.

15 *ὥς (ἐτῶν) β*: of *β* only the upper loop. The horizontal before it looks most like part of the year-sign. But 2 years is not a plausible age for a slave so often sold. Just possibly *μβ*.

16 *ἀρεόφρυν*: new. Cf. Moeris p. 214. 9 Bekker: *ψεδνός Ἀττικοί, ἀραιόθριξ Ἑλληνες*.

κονδόρεινα: new, but cf. *κοντό<ρ>ρινος* quoted by LSJ Suppl. from *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7. 202. 7. This is notable. *κοντός/κονδός*, well established in Modern Greek, does not appear at all in the papyrus documents. For its history see Hatzidakis, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 35 ff.

20 ff. I assume that two further owners are mentioned: hence *παρά* (doubtfully read) in 20 and again (restored) in 24. In 22 we might read accordingly *καὶ αὐτοῦ ὠνησαμένον[υ]*.

20-1 The traces at the end of 20 are too slight to show whether the name spilled over into 21. *Μολλ[ε]ανού* is a barely possible reading.

21 *δι...ος*: Perhaps *διὰ αἰ[ῶ]νος* (*αι[* at least is very plausible). It is the more difficult because the formula of tribe here used differs from those in 12 f. and 6 f. *γενομένου* should look forward. But how had he ceased to belong to the Tribe of Zeus? and why *ἐν* rather than the genitive?

23 As sense, *διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει* would be attractive, though the space is short for *αὐτῇ*.

24 *Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου*: nothing that is known of the emperor's relations suggests that one of them operated at Bostra: see A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus* 293 ff.

25 Possibly *ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ οἰκογενῇ*. But the *η* of *αὐτῇ* is difficult. *ἐκ* may introduce the name of the slave's mother (or parents).

26 I make nothing of this, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess.

3055-3056. ORDERS TO SUPPLY

These two pieces come from the same layer of papyri, and no doubt were found together. Both are addressed to an Ammonius, and dated in Phamenoth of a first year; both order Ammonius to supply eggs.

Chits of this kind are common: see 1568 and 2139, and the poulterer's archive (fifty-two ostraca) published by Boyaval in *BIFAO* 63 (1965) 50 ff. and reprinted as SB 10270.

The interest of 3055 lies in its date: *Λ α' Διοκλήτος, Φαμενώτ ια*. This is evidence for Diocletian's name; and for the date at which he was recognized in Egypt.

Literary sources say that the emperor was called Diocles before his accession: *Epit. de Caes.* 39. 1, Lactantius, *de M. P.* 9. 11 and 19. 5. Lactantius uses the name from time to time in his narrative of the reign (ib. 29. 2, 37. 3, 52. 3); Libanius also uses it, no doubt with deliberate contempt, in recalling Diocletian's injustice to his own ancestors (*Or.* 19. 45 f.). But no document, so far as I know, has any form but *Διοκλητιανός*.

Diocletian dated his accession from 20 November 284 (PBeattyPanop. 2. 162-4). But Egyptian datings from his first year are very rare. Vandersleyen (*Chronologie des préfets de l'Égypte* 33 ff.) concluded that Diocletian may not have been recognized in Egypt until late in his first year—perhaps not until the middle of 285, when news arrived of the battle of Margus and the murder of Carinus. The texts so far available might have justified the conclusion. The last Egyptian date of Carinus is of Mesore, year 2 = August 284 (SB 6597); a year 3 (beginning 29 August 284) is mentioned in 2338 52. Diocletian's year 1 appears at 2338 49 and 2872 6; but the first precise¹ date is Tybi 4, year 2 = 30 December 285 (SB 7443). Only one document offers an earlier fixed point: PMichaelidae 21. 12-14, dated Mecheir 16, year 1 = 10 February 285. But the printed text presents oddities which led Vandersleyen to discount this evidence.

3055 now settles the point. Diocletian had been recognized in Egypt by 7 March 285 (we can hardly suppose that such a trivial document would have been back-dated). Whatever the run of events, then, the battle of Margus was not the decisive moment.

Another, but insoluble, problem arises. Should we deduce from 3055 that Diocles was the emperor's official name even at this date? If PMichael. 21 is correctly read and dated, the supposition is untenable: Διοκλητιανός is already part of the titulature nearly a month earlier than our document. If not, it is open to guess that the emperor adopted the more sonorous name at some time after his accession, perhaps with the defeat of Carinus. This at least can be said: the use of Διοκλῆς here might well be an individual ineptness rather than official practice; but the new emperor's name had certainly reached Melas or his clerk in Oxyrhynchus in the form which we have known so far only from hostile literary sources.

3055

22 3B.15/G (4-7) b

8 × 8 cm.

Plate VII
7 March 285

→ π(αρά) Μέλανος γράμμ[ατέ]ως

Ἀμμωνίῳ ὀρνιθαῖ χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἀμμωνι φύλακει

ὥστε εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν

5 τῇ[ς] οἰκίας ᾧ δέκ[α

γί(νονται) ᾧ ι.

(ἔτους) α Διοκλῆτος

Φαμενώτ ια.

¹ OMich. 408 concerns produce of the first year of Diocletian, but carries no date. 2228 41 refers to a second year; it might be that of Diocletian (3 September 285), but see *BASP* 6 (1969) 36 f.

1 π' 4 üπ- 6 Γ+ Back: three smudged lines across the fibres

'From Melas the secretary to Ammonius the chicken-man, greetings. Give Ammon the guard, for domestic supplies, ten eggs, that makes 10 eggs. Year 1 of Diocles, Phamenoth 11.'

3056

22 3B.15/G (4-7) c

10.7 × 7.5 cm.

284/5

↓ π(αρά) Ἀμμωνος Ἀμμωνίῳ χ[αίρειν.
 δὸς εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ π[
 ὀρνίθιον ἐν καὶ ὧὰ δέκα γ(ίνονται) .[
 (ἔτους) α Φαμε[νὼ]θ [

1 π' 3 / Back: blank

'From Ammon to Ammonius, greetings. Give, as supplies for . . ., one chicken and ten eggs, that makes . . . Year 1, Phamenoth . . .'

3 .[: the tall straight trace suggests γ(ίνονται) ι[rather than ὀρνίθιον.

4 (ἔτους) α: of Diocletian, given the close connection with 3055.

V. PRIVATE LETTERS

3057. LETTER OF AMMONIUS

27 3B.43/F (5-7) a

13.5 × 23.4 cm.

First/second century

This letter is written on a substantial sheet cut from a roll (a heavy *kollesis* can be seen to the right). A single hand, neat and semi-literary, wrote both text and greeting; characteristic letters are *a*, sometimes angular and sometimes rounded, *μ* in three movements, *π* with a strongly curved right side, *ν* as a wide 'v'. This sort of script should belong to the late first or earlier second century: Schubart *Pal. Abb.* 79, which is similar though more carelessly written, dates to A.D. 94.

The writer encourages his brethren to amity, alludes to external enemies, looks forward with ragged nerves to future ordeals: many hints, small information. If the hand is rightly dated, it would be temerarious to look for a Christian context (15 ff. n.).

- Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
ἐκομισάμην τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολὴν
καὶ τὴν ἱματοφορίδα καὶ τοὺς φαινόλας καὶ τὰς
5 κύνριγγας οὐ καλὰς, τοὺς δὲ φαινόλας οὐχ ὥς
παλαιοὺς ἔλαβον ἀλλ' εἴ τι μείζον ἐστὶν και-
νῶν διὰ προαίρεσιν· οὐ θέλω δέ σε, ἀδελφε, βα-
ρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχές{ε}ς φιλανθρωπίαις,
'... ' οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμεύσασθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον
10 ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομί-
ζομεν παρεστακέναι σοι. παρακαλῶ
δέ σε, ἀδελφε, μηκέτι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι πε-
ρὶ τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς μονοχώρου. οὐ γὰρ θέ-
λω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ ἢ ἄλ-
15 λου διαφορὰν τινα ἔχειν· ὁμόνοϊαν γὰρ καὶ
φιλαλλη<λ>ίαν εὖχομαι ἐν ὑμεῖν διαμένειν
ἢ ἢτε ἀκαταλήρητοι καὶ μὴ [[ἢτε]] ὁμοῖοι
ἡμεῖν. ἢ γὰρ πεῖρα ἐπάγεταιί με προτρέψας-
θαι ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορ-
20 μὰς ἑτέροις καθ' ὑμῶν· πείρασαι οὖν καὶ δι'
ἐμὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, χαρισάμενός μοι ὁ με-

τοξὺν ἐπιγνώσῃ ἀγαθόν. τὰ ἔρια ἂν ᾗς εἰλη-
 φῶς παρὰ Καλβίου πλήρη καὶ ᾗ σοι ἄρες-
 τά, ἀντίγραφόν μοι· γελοῖα δέ σοι γέγραφα
 25 διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, ἃ παραδέξῃ·
 ἥ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀνειμένη γίνεται, ὅταν τὸ
 σὸν ὄνομα παρῇ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἔθος ἐχού-
 χης ἡρεμεῖν διὰ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα· ἀλ(λ)' ὑπο-
 φέρει Λεωνᾶς· ἀσπάζομαί σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοὺς
 30 σ[ο]ὺς πάντας· ἔρρωσο, τειμιώτατε.

(Back →) Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀπολλω() ἐπισκέπ(τη) ἀδε(λφῶ).

11 -ζομεν corr. from -ζωμεν 17 [[ἦτε]]: ἦτ'ε παρ. 27 ὄνομα: corr. from ωνομα 30 τει-
 μιώτατε: τει corrected 31 ἀπολλω^ω ἐπισκε^π ἀδ^ε

'Ammonius to Apollonius his brother, greetings. I received the crossed letter and the portmanteau and the cloaks and the reeds, not good ones—the cloaks I received not as old ones, but as better than new if that's possible, because of the spirit (in which they were given). But I don't want you, brother, to load me with these continual kindnesses, since I can't repay them—the only thing we suppose ourselves to have offered you is (our) feelings of friendship. Please, brother, don't concern yourself further with the key of the single room: I don't want you, my brothers, to quarrel for my sake or for anyone else's; indeed I pray for concord and mutual affection to maintain itself in you, so that you can be beyond the reach of gossip and not be like us: experience leads me to urge you to live at peace and not to give others a handle against you. So try and do this for my sake too—a favour to me, which in the interim you'll come to recognize as advantageous (to you as well). If you've received the wool from Salvius to the full amount, and if it's satisfactory, write back to me. I wrote you silly things in my previous letter, which you'll discount: the fact is my spirit relaxes when your name is there—and this though it has no habit of tranquillity, because of its pressing troubles. Well, Leonas bears up (?). My best wishes to you, master, and all your people. Good health, most honoured friend.

(Address) To Apollonius . . ., surveyor, his brother.'

2 $\bar{\chi}\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$: a horizontal bar is written above χ . Did the writer intend $\chi(\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu)$, and then decide to complete the word? 15 ff. n.

3 $\kappa\epsilon\chi\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$: the word is usually applied to contracts crossed out $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ (PYale 63. 11 n.). Alternatively it might mean 'marked with an X' (LSJ s.v. II i; Eusebius, VC 1. 31 $\chi\iota\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\acute{\omega}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$). I don't see why the letter should have been crossed out; or why $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ is used, if the document concerned was a contract. Some letters have X midway in the address, to mark a place for the fastening; but the usage should be too common for comment. Some documents use X's to fill a blank line-end, as a precaution against unauthorized additions (2576 4–5 n.); but it is an odd precaution for a private letter. For a more dubious explanation, see 15 ff. n.

4–5 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\rho\iota\gamma\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\rho\iota\gamma\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ for $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\{\rho\}\rho\iota\gamma\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, by analogy with compounds in $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - ρ ? Perhaps they are reels of thread, see 2593 6 n. $\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ hardly suits so tactful a letter; the writer probably intended $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\langle\varsigma\rangle\ \sigma\omicron\nu$.

9 '...': the last trace stands above $\hbar y p s i l o n$ of $\omicron\upsilon$; the first, in the left margin, descends halfway to line level. Neither $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$ (Rea) nor $\mu\acute{\eta}$ is a quite satisfactory reading.

13 $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$: two late house-leases use the word in this sense: 1957 12 f. $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ (l. $\tau\omega\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$) $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\chi[\omega\rho\omicron\nu]\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$; 1964 $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$ [$\acute{\upsilon}$] $\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}[\psi]\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$. Cf. the use of $\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in PCairMas. 340 verso 41; CGL s.v. $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\rho\omicron\nu\ \text{tres cameras sive tres absidas}$. Latin *trichorum*,

which is already used by Statius, is alleged to mean 'room with three semi-circular niches', see Pauly-Wissowa s.v.

15 ff. Ammonius and Apollonius belong to a group of 'brothers', threatened by internal quarrels and exposed to attack from outside; for Ammonius at least the future is black (28). A Christian context would be possible: Nilus Ancyranus uses the same words, *PG* 79. 144A (τί . . . ἀγαπᾷ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν . . . ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν); the burden is much the same in *I Clement*, an epistle περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας to the warring church of Corinth (47. 7 καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοή οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι).

If a Christian context were posited, it would be tempting to equate ἑτεροί (20) with Clement's ἑτεροκλινεῖς; and to interpret the 'crossed' letter (3) as 'marked with the sign of the cross', compare the curious overlined χ in line 2.

This hypothesis crumbles easily. (a) The sentiments are likely to have a wide distribution; cf. the equally cryptic PMerton III 115. (b) Only violence will produce a reference to the σταυρός in line 3. (c) The date is against it. Note that ἐπισκόπ(ω) cannot be read in 31.

17 ἀκαταλήρητοι: a new word. καταληρεῖν in the lexica has the meaning 'bore with talking'. For the sense 'talk down' cf. καταλαλεῖν; and κατακράζειν PFouad 87. 11.

28 f. ἀλ<λ>' ὑποφέρει Λεωνᾶς: of φ only the left-hand arc remains; otherwise the letters are certain. The version printed assumes that λεωνας is a proper name. ὑποφέρειν normally means 'endure', with an accusative of the disaster; this might be supplied from ἐπερχόμενα. A remoter alternative might be 'brings (them) upon (me)', cf. 488 19 οὐκ ὀλίγην βλάβην ὑποφέρει με (l. μοι). Or again, 'brings (me) down' (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). I can do nothing with ἄλυπος or ἄλυπο-. Even the punctuation is not certain. Dr. Rea suggests a stop before Λεωνᾶς: an additional greeting from some other person, perhaps from the scribe himself.

31 Απολλω() : Απολλω(νίου) ? Απολλω(νοπολίτη) ?

3058. LETTER OF FLAVIUS TO MORUS

26 3B.52/D (4-6) a

12 × 22 cm.

Second century

A business letter of little interest. The writing is a practised cursive, with many letters corrected or overwritten. The back is blank, except for an ink line ruled parallel with the greater dimension, and a cross mark.

→ Φλαύιος Μώρω τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
 ἐπὶ ἐταξάμην τῷ κοινωνῷ μου
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἕνεκα τῶν
 μετεώρων ἡμῶν, ἔτυχέν μοι ὀφθαλ-
 5 μιᾶσαι. διὰ τούτου οὐκ ἀνέβην.
 εἰάν οὖν ἀναβῇ ὁ κοινωνός μου,
 γενοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀπολ-
 λώνιον τὸν γραμ<μ>ατέα ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἀπάρτιται τὰ ζητούμενα
 10 πρὸς ἡμᾶς· γενοῦ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖν
 τὸν ἀρχέφοδον καὶ ἐπίγνωτι ἢ ἔδω-

κε τὰς τρεῖς μνᾶς τῷ τὸ σειτικόν·
 εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδοκώς, ἀπήταισον
 τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὴν μ<ν>ᾶ<ν> σ' οὐ· ἕως οὖν
 15 ἀναβῶ, ἔρρωσο.

ὑπέταξά σοι τοκαταμᾶρα τοῦ
 πυροῦ· ἔστι δέ· ἐν μὲν οἰκίᾳ
 Ἀμενέως αὐλητοῦ (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) φη
 ἐν δὲ Σαραπάτος οἰκίᾳ (ἀρτ.) υπ
 20 καὶ παρὰ Εὐαγγελίου ἐνχειρ. παθε...
 (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ςυ καὶ ἐν δημοσίοις θησαυροῖς
 τὸ λείπον.

2 1. ἐπεὶ 4 χ of ετυχεν corr. 7 cu(ν) corr. 11 η corr. 1. ἐπίγνωθι εἰ 12 (τ)ο
 corr. 13 1. ἡ δεδοκώς ἀπαίτησον 14 (ο)υν corr. 18, 21 ζ -

'Flavius to Morus his brother, greetings. After I arranged with my partner to come up for our business pending, I went and got ophthalmia. This is why I didn't come up. So if my partner comes up, go with him to Apollonius our secretary and settle the matters under dispute with us. Go to Ptolemaeus the policeman and discover whether he's given the three minas to the corn man. If he hasn't given them, dun Ptolemaeus for your mina (?). So, until I come up—good health!

I've subjoined the list (?) for the wheat, as follows: in the house of Amenneus the flute-player, 508 art. of wheat; in the house of Sarapas, 480 art.; from Evangelus . . . and in the public granaries the remainder.'

12 τῷ τὸ σειτικόν: sc. ἀπαιτοῦντι?

14 The papyrus has τονπ[ρ]τολεμαίτηνμαζέωσο[. . .]υγ. The emended text printed does at least harmonize with line 12.

15 The writer seems to have combined the abbreviation ερρ- with the full form ερρωσο.

16 τοκαταμᾶρα: he must have intended τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα. Possibly he did in fact write ἀγτρα for ἀνδρα; if so both ν and τ are anomalous. Or κατὰ <κα>μάραν (Turner).

18 αὐλητοῦ: or possibly Αὐλητοῦ.

20-21 ἐνχειρ. παθε... (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ςυ: this phrase is overlined as far as (πυρ.), and underlined up to the end: I have taken this, doubtfully, as a mark of deletion. The first part is difficult. (a) ἐν χειρὶ might be read, then e.g. Παθ...ς (but neither Παθέως nor Παθείους will fit). But one might expect a plural, if the meaning is 'in the keeping of', cf. BGU 844. 8 f., 1095. 12. (b) Some form of ἐγχειρίζειν would suit the sense; but I can find nothing which suits the traces.

3059. LETTER OF DIDYME TO APOLLONIUS

20 3B.37/G (1-2) a

11.5 × 7.5 cm.

Second century

A fragmentary letter, remarkable only for the striking metaphor of affection in lines 2-5.

→ Διδύμη Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ (Back →) ἀπὸ Διδύ[μης]
καὶ ἡλίῳ χαίρειν.
γείνωσκέ με μὴ βλέπουσιν τὸν ἥλιον
διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι σε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.
5 οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ἄλλον ἥλιον εἰ μὴ σέ. εὐ-
χαριστῶ δὲ Θεωνᾷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
...].αι ἃ ἔπεμψα τῷ πατρί σου
...].ο Θεῶνος Ἀθηναίου τοῦ φίλου
.

'Didyme to Apollonius her brother and sun, greetings. You must know that I do not view the sun, because you are out of my view; for I have no sun but you. I am grateful to your brother Theonas. (Take delivery of?) what I have sent to your father . . . Theon son of Athenaeus your friend . . .'

1 Above this line is a single sign, approximately centred, in shape like a thickly written cursive beta.

2 ἡλίῳ: the nearest parallel I have found is in Galen (xix 680 K), who addresses a friend as ἡλιε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς.

7-8 The writer tends to divide words; there are slight spaces to suggest the articulation after].αι and].ο. In 7 perhaps κόμι]σαι.

3060. LETTER OF PTOLEMAEUS TO HORIS

22 3B.20/A (3-4) a

15.8 × 22.2 cm.

Second century

This letter is largely taken up with the usual catalogue of goods received; the asyndetic sentences are uncompromisingly businesslike. There are a few points of lexical interest. The hand is of the earlier second century.

→ Πτολεμα[ί]ος Ὠρεῖτι [τῷ] ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
ἐκομι[σά]μην ἐφίππ[ιον] παρὰ Ζαραπᾶτος καὶ
κύνθε[σι]ν Σπανὴν ἡ[μιτ]ριβῆν [τεθ]εραπευμένην
καὶ ἐπικ[ά]ρσιον ὁμοίως ἡμιτρ[ιβῆ]ν καὶ τῷ παιδί μου
5 κουκκ[.]λον πορφυροῦν ἄγναφον καὶ ἄ[λ]λο χιτώ-
νιον ζμαράγδινον [π]άντα ἐν ἰλήματι καινῷ
λεντίῳ καὶ κανίσκ[ιο]ν ὑελοῦν καὶ κεράμιον τα-

- ραχίων καὶ κραβάτην καὶ κασιτερῖνα [.]. γ. ατρία
 ἐν καλωδίῳ . . . α. ν. αικεῖα δ' χιτώνιον λευκὸν
 10 παιδικὸν καὶ κάμπτραν καὶ ῥάβδον· οὐκ ἔκο-
 μισάμην τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ἐριδίου τοῦ λωδίνου·
 πέμψον Τρύφωνα ἢ τὴν κυρίαν ἐπεὶ αὐτός
 με ὑπηρετεῖ· [[δεδωκας]] ὑποτέθειμαι τὰ ἱμά-
 τια τὰ λευκὰ ἔνεκα τιμῆς ζίτου ἵνα φάγωμεν.
 15 ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι.
 κέχρημαι παρὰ Τρύφωνος δραχμὰς ὀκτώ.

(Back →) ἀπόδος Ὁρεῖτι ἀπὸ Πτολεμα[[λεμ]]ίου ἀδελφοῦ

3, 4 1. ἡμιτριβῇ 13 ὑπηρετεῖ ἱμα-

'Ptolemaeus to Horis his brother, greetings. I have received a saddle-cloth from Sarapas, and a Spanish outfit, half-worn and repaired, and a striped (?) garment, likewise half-worn, and for my boy a purple hood, unfulled, and another tunic, emerald-green—all in a new linen wrapping; and a glass basket and a jar of pickled fish and a mattress and . . . tin . . . in . . . a child's white tunic and a chest and a rod. I have not received the mina of lotus-coloured (?) wool. Send Tryphon or the mistress, since the master himself is helping me. I have pawned the white cloaks for the price of corn so that we can eat. I pray for your health. I have borrowed eight drachmas from Tryphon.'

(Address) 'Deliver to Horis from Ptolemaeus his brother . . .'

5 κουκκ[.]λον: Latin *cucullus*; the diminutive *κουκκούλιον* is known elsewhere (PMich. 482. 4 and n.). The expected spelling would be *κούκκ[ου]λον* but the space seems to allow only one letter in the lacuna.

6-7 ἐν ἐλήματι καὶ νῶ λεντίῳ: if the readings are right, *λεντίῳ* must be an adjective (*linteo*); elsewhere in the papyri the word is always neuter as a noun. For *εἶλημα*, in the sense of 'wrapping', LSJ cites the unidentified Ionic writer *ap.* Stobaeus 3. 28. 21 (p. 624 l. 13 Wachsmuth); add Epiphanius, *haer.* 42. 11; CGL *εἶλημα* . . . *volucrum* . . .

8 κραβάτην, if correct, must be for *κραβάτιον*. In what follows, the most likely division is *κα<ς>ιτέρινα* [.]. γ. α τρία; of the middle word I can make nothing, indeed the second element of the group which I have read as γ. looks like nothing at all in this hand. Granted that *τρία* is the numeral, the next word will be ἐν and not ἔν. *καλωδίῳ* should refer to a container or wrapping (the letters are certain, except the final ω, which is overwritten, or perhaps intersected by an extended horizontal from the next letter). *καλώτιον* with τ appears three times in papyri: 920 5 in a list of foodstuffs; PRyl. 172. 15 *καλώτια δώδεκα* as part of the rent-in-kind of a palm-grove; SB I 1. 25 *ρίζα δύο καλωτίων ἢ λαβῶν καὶ ρι[. . . . κ]ορακίων*; perhaps also OTait P. 295. 9 (*BL* iii 270) *καλοῦτιν βράκανον*. It is tempting to understand the word as a foodstuff produced in palm-groves. But this hardly suits SB 1, where the context is all objects and implements. There is moreover a similar word *καλούσιον* (-ώσιον PCZ I 59-014 b 11) which clearly refers to some kind of container: of wine PCZ IV 59-698. 33 etc., of meat PCZ I 59-012. 44 and PSI 428. 55. (All these come from the Zeno archive.) 'Jar' would fit our text; and indeed OTait P. 295, if *βρακάνον* (for -ων) is a right conjecture. But I cannot reconcile the other instances.

9 . . . α. ν. αικεῖα: *γυναικεῖα* is almost irresistible, but I cannot make the traces into a ν; before it possibly *πάλ[λ]ια*. The apparent absence of connective *καί* before the two items in 9 is odd: so there may be some basic flaw in the reading.

11 λωδίνου: there is a trace between ο and ν, which I have taken to be accidental. ν seems to be certain; not *λωδικίου*. The writer presumably intended *λωτίνου*: lotus-coloured?

3061-3062. LETTERS TO ARCHELAUS

33 4B.82/F (1-3) a-b

3061. 12 × 18.8 cm.

First century

3062. 8.7 × 30 cm.

These two letters come from the same layer of papyri, and were presumably found together; this suggests that the Archelaus addressed is the same in both. Archelaus served at some time as secretary to the strategus of the Panopolite (3062 17 f.); one friend was secretary to an *εἰσαγωγεὺς* (15). He moved, that is, in official circles; and so knew how to obtain a policeman and an order to arrest (3061 9). For the rest, his correspondents deal in commonplace private business. The interest of the letters is in the view they give of the world of petty bureaucrats; the contempt for 'Egyptians', 3061 13, continues the tradition of Theocritus 15. 48 and anticipates 1681 and PGiss. 40 ii 28 f.

To judge from the hands, this correspondence belongs to the period Claudius-Vespasian.

3061

- Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀρχελάωι τῶι νιῶι
χαίρειν.
κόμικαι διὰ Πασηέους τὸ δελ-
φάκ[ιον] καὶ ψιαθ[.....].
5 [[κυθρα]] 'βαυκαλ(ίω)' μόσχια κρέα εἰ καὶ
ἡψη{μη}μένα ἐν χάρτη ἀριθ(μῶ) 5
καὶ ἐν χειλώματι κριθῆς χ(οίνικας) δ.
καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψας μοι
ἐρημοφύλακα σὺν διπλώματι
10 ἐπὶ Λαστᾶν Θώνιος ἀπὸ Τήεως,
ἐπεὶ ὕβριν μοι οὐ μεικρὰν
παρέσχεν. ὄρα οὖν μὴ ἀμελή-
σης. οἶδας γὰρ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπ(τίων).
ἐάν τινος ἄλλου χρήζης, γρά-
15 φε. οὐκ ἔπεμψά σοι παλαιὸν κερᾶ(μιον)
μὴ ἀνάγκη περιστῶμεν 'ἐὰν' ἐνθά-
δε [[εαν]] σὺν τῷ ἐγλογιστῇ παραγε().
ἔρρω(σο).

Left margin 19 ἔγραψε Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολ(εμαίου) “περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ ἐάν τι
20 ᾗν δῆλωσόν [μ]οί”.

Back → X Ἀρχελάωι υἱῶι.

5 βαυκα^λ 1. μόσχεια 6 ἀριθ 7 ^δχ 13 αἰγυ 15 κερ^λ 17 παραγ^ε 18 ερρ^ω
19 πτ^δ

‘Heraclas to Archelaus his son, greetings. Receive through Pases (?) the piglet and . . . rush-mats . . . five pieces of veal (in?) a pot and boiled pieces in paper 6 in number and 4 choenices of barley in a box. Please send me a desert-guard with an order against Lastas son of Thonis from Teis, since he’s offered me considerable violence. Make sure you look after it. You know how the Egyptians are. If you have any other requirement, write. I haven’t sent you an old jar (?), in case we should find ourselves in a tight spot if you (?) arrive here with the accountant. Good health!

(margin) Apollonius son of Ptolemaeus has written ‘About the accountant, let me know if anything turns up.’

(address) To Archelaus my son.’

3 Πασηέους: η is more probable than ν or υ; μ seems to be excluded by the narrowness of the trace.

4 ψιαθ[: ψίαθος or ψιάθιον. The other articles in the list are edible. It may be then that the matting is the wrapping, as for the consignment of meat in PBeattyPanop. 1. 121 f. and 161 f. But the space allows only a numeral, not a defining genitive, given the probable restoration of the next line: e.g. ψιαθ[ους β κα]ῖ [έν] | βαυκαλ(ίω) μόσχεια κρέα ε.

5 [[κυθρα]]: the scribe wrote έν κύθρα, then replaced the noun with the more precise βαυκαλίω. κρέα must be joints of meat, as at 2190 63; in pots, as e.g. PRyl. 627. 72 (ἀγγεῖα), 1923 10 (διπλᾶ).

6 An interlinear insertion. The boiled meat was wrapped in papyrus, like the fish of the Roman markets (*Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 287). 2571 11 has meat έν αργυρι . . . αρταῖς, but the problems of the passage remain unsolved.

8–9 A desert-policeman and an order to arrest: Archelaus could use his position in the office of the strategus, from which such orders usually emanated (PLund VI p. 5); a rather similar proceeding in 2730, which again calls the document διπλωμάτιον. But there is a practical difficulty about this hypothesis. The man to be arrested comes from Teis, which is in the Thmoeseopho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite; but it is the strategus of the Panopolite to whom Archelaus is attached in 3062 17, and the Panopolite village of Zmis where he is to be found (ib. 4). It is still possible that his official career gave him special influence in the matter of Lastas; but apparently a different stage of his career from that represented in 3062.

15 κερᾶ(μιον) assumes that the hooked stroke above ρ represents alpha. Otherwise κέρ(μα) (Rea) might be read; for mentions of παλαιὸν νόμισμα (all 3rd cent.) see Johnson and West, *Currency* 68 f.

17 παραγ^ε(): παραγέ(νη)? or παραγέ(νηται)/-γέ(νωνται)? The situation was perhaps this: Heraclas half-expects someone (the strategus?) to arrive with the eclogistes, i.e. the Alexandrian official who oversaw the nome finances; the better wine has to be reserved for this eventuality. Numerous documents show the eclogistes receiving reports and writing for information and investigation (most recently PPetaus 25). But I have found no other mention of a visit in person. It would obviously be a difficult occasion, and Apollonius (line 19) is accordingly anxious for early warning.

The reading supposes a cursive γ not exemplified elsewhere in this letter. Palaeographically, c would be more plausible; but I don’t see what to do with παρὰ c^ε or παρὰc().

19–20 ᾗν for ᾗ, as e.g. PMich. 477. 13, 487. 14, 511. 12, 3058 13. We might put a stop before ἐάν; or better take περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ and all that follows as Apollonius’ quoted words.

- Σαραπίων Ἀρχελάωι
 τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
 τὸν ἱστὸν τῶν ἐπι-
 καρσίων εἰς Ζμεῖνα
 5 ἐκόμισα ὥς καταλαμ-
 βάνων ὑμᾶς, καὶ πάν-
 τως ἄν σοι πεπόμφειν,
 εἰ μὴ Ἑρμῆς μοι ἀ-
 πῆγγειλε δεδωκέ-
 10 ναι σοι ἑτέρα'. οἱ σοὶ πάντες
 ἔρρωνται.
 εὐχομαί σε ἐρρῶσθαι,
 ἄδελφε.
 (m.²) Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ συνγρ()
 15 Θέωνος εἰσαγωγέως
 πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι.
 17 (Back → m.²?) Ἀρχελάωι γραμματεῖ Θέωνο(ς) στρα(τηγοῦ) Πανοπ(ολίτου).
 14 συνγρς 17 θεων^ο στρ̄ πανο)

'Sarapion to Archelaus his brother, greetings. I took the length of transverse fabric to Zmis, assuming that I'd find you there; and I would in any case have sent it to you, but that Hermes reported that he had given you others. All your people are well. I pray for your health, brother. (2nd hd.) I, Apollonius, fellow secretary of Theon the court-clerk, send you many greetings.'

(Address) 'To Archelaus, secretary of Theon the strategus of the Panopolite.'

3-4 τὸν ἱστὸν τῶν ἐπικαρσίων: I take ἱστὸν to be a 'length' of material, rather than the loom on which material of this kind is woven. Cf. PSI 387. 5 ἡμιτυβίων ἱστόν, Ps.-Aristeas 320 (p. 84 Wendland) βυσσίνων ὀθονίων ἱστοὺς ἐκατόν, of which the second at least is unambiguous. The noun ἐπικάρσιον is glossed *amiculum* in the CGL. The basic meaning of the adjective is 'sideways': i.e. 'striped', according to the dictionaries; 'woven on a horizontal loom' (as opposed to ὀρθοῦφικὰ), according to POslo II 56. 5 n. If the former, compare the striped stuffs from Dura (*Final Report* IV ii 13).

4 Ζμεῖνα: a village in the Panopolite, PCairoMasp. 170 and 171.

14 συνγρ(): BGU 451. 14 attests the noun συγγραμματοεὐς; cf. 1427 2 συγγραμ(ματεύοντι). If either is the correct resolution here, συν- must have a rather wide sense: Apollonius and Archelaus are colleagues because both are γραμματεῖς, not because they work for the same master.

15 εἰσαγωγέως: the prefect had an εἰσαγωγεὺς on his staff, see PHamb. I pp. 78 f. and PStrass. 179. 7 f.; so did strategi, cf. PFay. 23 a 3 γενόμενος γραμματεὺς νομῶν τινων ἰδίου λόγου καὶ ἱσαγωγέως στρατηγοῦ Ἀμμωνιακῆς. The other references specify no employer. It is an easy guess that Theon here was clerk to the strategus Theon of line 17.

3063. LETTER OF DIOGENES TO APOLLOGENES

34 4B.78/D (14)

16 × 25.5 cm.

Second century

A vigorous and literate letter about agricultural matters. The body of the text is written in a back-sloping hand; characteristic forms are ε, η (in the 'h' shape), κ tall and narrow, μ (in three movements), broken τ, wide υ, ω flattened at the base. Some features of this could belong to the first century (e.g. 3051); the general type belongs to the second, compare Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 35 (Hadrian) and others cited by Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 227 f.; it has been seen as the first stage of the 'Chancery' style. The second hand is more advanced in the same direction: notice the tall, straight-backed ε and ϵ (the cap of ϵ sometimes a separate tick).

The cutting down of vines (3 ff.) was a serious matter; taxes could be reduced on the land (2847 i 5-6). But here apparently the ground was to be sown, not replanted.

The back has been reused for two columns of accounts, largely illegible. I cannot make out the remains of an address among them.

- Διογένης Ἀπολλογέει τῶι φιλάτῳ
 χαίρειν.
 μυριάκις [γ]εγραφὼς ἐκκόψαι τὰ πρὸς τῷ Φάι
 ἀμπε[. .]. ὡς ἔδοξεν Δημητρ[ι]ῳ τῷ γυμνασι-
 5 ἀρχῳ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Σώτῃ πάλιν σου ἔλαβον
 ἐπιστολὴν σήμερον πυνθανομένου τί βού-
 λομαι γενέσθαι· πρὸς ἣν ἀντιγράφῳ ἔκκοψον ἔκκο-
 ψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον· ἰδοὺ πλειστάκις
 λέγω· καὶ σπαρήτῳ οἷς δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς
 10 ..[. . .]. της νῦν ἐν χόρτῳ οὔσης ὅταν ὁ χόρ-
 τος βρωθῇ ἢ κοπῇ· θαυμάζω εἰ χρεῖα ἐστὶ τρι-
 ῶν ζευγῶν εἰς ἐπαντλησμὸν τῆς ἐν Χαλώ-
 θει ἀμπέλου εἰς ὀλίγον περιεσταμένης· οὐ γὰρ
 τῆς τειμῆς ἐστὶν τοῦ περισσοῦ ζεύγους ὡς τῶν
 15 τροφῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης· εἰ δέ γε σὺ δο-
 κεῖς χρεῖαν εἶναι, διάπεμψαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 μου εἰς Ὁξύρυγχ...ν πρὸς Σαραπίωνα ἣν συνειλη-
 ..[. . .]. η, ᾧ δηλώσεις πότερον ἀρσενικὸν
 θέλεις [.] ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρσ[ένων] θη-
 20 λυκὸν .ο. . . .ον δὲ θηλυκοῦ χρεῖαν εἶναι [. . . .
 ἐλάσσονα (*m.*²) `ἐῖςθι' [τρ]. ἐκομίσαμην δε[. . . .
 τὸ κεράμιον τῆς ἐλαίας τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [. . . .

γέγρ[α]φα, φύλασσε ἕως ἂν πα[ρ]ὰ τοὶ γένωμαι.

ἔρρωσο φίλτατε

25

Ἀπολλογένη.

ἔρρω(σο). Μεχ(εῖρ) ις̄.

26 ερρ^ω μ^χ

‘Diogenes to Apollogenes his very dear friend, greetings. A thousand times I’ve written to you to cut down the vines at Phai (?), as Demetrius the gymnasiarch and Adrastus and Sotas decided. But today again I get a letter from you asking what I want done. To which I reply: cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down: there you are, I say it again and again. They are to be sown with what has to go there, along with the . . . which is now under fodder, once the fodder is eaten up or harvested. I find it surprising if it needs three pairs of oxen to water the vineyard at Chalothis, which hasn’t come to much. It isn’t so much a matter of the cost of the extra pair, as of their feed and the other expenses. But if you do think it’s needed, send on my letter to . . . to Sarapion . . . You will inform him whether you want a male . . . a female instead of the males. I must tell you that . . . has (?) less need of the female. (2nd hd.) I received the jar of oil. The other things I’ve written about, keep them until I join you. Good health, my dear friend Apollogenes. Good health. Mecheir 16.’

1 Ἀπολλογένης satisfies the traces, and is a possible reading of the very cursive line 25. (Not -φανει.) The name does not appear in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* or Pape-Benseler, except that grammarians comment on the formation. But an Arcadian of this name appears in a Delphic inscription of c. 200 B.C. (see *RE* s.v.); another is the apex of an amorous triangle in Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 2. 11.

2: one expects a word here to balance *χαίρειν*; and there are indeed discolorations which might be the traces of c. 6 letters.

3 *μυριάκις*: not in *WB* or its supplements; but PSI 1334. 9 *ἐπέσειλά σοι γὰρ μυριαντάκις*. It is a rare word in any case; Stephanus quotes among post-classical authors only Archimedes (in the literal sense) and Galen (in the loose sense). The form in -αντάκις is apparently accommodated to numeral forms in -άντα (as in Modern Greek).

τῶ Φάι: the letters seem certain. If this articulation is right, cf. PSI 77. 13 (lease from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 551/65) *ἐδάφους Φάει*; but clearly the reading is doubtful. Φάνι (2195 113) cannot be read here.

4 ἀμπε[. . .]: the final trace might be the tail of α (ignoring some stray ink after it); perhaps ἀμπέ[λι]α, though the diminutive does not occur elsewhere in the papyri. The space is rather short for -[λικ]ά.

9 *επαρήτω*: of τ only the left half of the cross-bar; of ω only something which might be the final upright.

10 The traces at the beginning are minimal. . .[. . .]ης τῆς could be read.

14 *έστιν*: the meaning is presumably ‘it isn’t so much a question of . . .’ But I can’t find any parallel.

17 *Ὁξυρυγχ. . . ν*: *οξυρυγχον* was written; above ο a superscribed ε followed by traces. Presumably he intended *Ὁξυρυγχείτην* or -τῶν?

17 f. Cf. POslo 84. 3 *ενείλησα τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*. It is likely enough that Diogenes enclosed a second letter, to be sent to Sarapion in case of need. The clause ended]*ση* or]*τη*; before that the preserved strip of papyrus (which should show the lower halves of letters) is blank, for the space of at least three letters. Perhaps then *ενείλη*][*ς*]α [*ταύ*] (*vac.*) *τη*. But I should have expected the feet of *ταν* to show.

20 I had tried *ποτερον δε*; but this fails on the ρ (the trace is an unsuitably short and oblique descender). Possibly (a name) *δὲ θ. χρεῖαν ἔχε[ιν]*.]*ο*. *κελον* suits the traces.

21 e.g. *δὲ [καί]*.

22 e.g. *τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἄπερ]*.

24 ff. The hand is much more cursive than in 21–3; but the ink and pen look the same; probably therefore the same writer in a hurry.

3064. LETTER OF THEAGENES AND PANECHOTES

4 1B.61/K (b)

9.2 × 10.3 cm.

Third century

This letter is more or less complete except at the foot; the back is blank. The writers address themselves to an unnamed village community. Their communication is in two sections, divided by a blank line-end in 8; in both the subject is liturgies.

Lines 2–7. Representatives of the nome had approached a procurator, complaining that someone had registered them in the city, that is in the metropolis instead of in their own village; the procurator in answer has handed them over to the villagers to do liturgical service. It is a good guess that the aim of the officials (whoever they were) who made these registrations was to increase the number of those liable to metropolite liturgies. If this is right, 3064 reflects the situation Septimius Severus deals with by enacting *μη δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμητ[ῶν εἰς τὰ]ς μητροπολιτικὰς ἄγεσθαι λειτουργ[γ]είας* (SB 7696. 83); the continuing tendency leads to the trial before Appius Sabinus, SB 7696.

Lines 9–13. This section concerns individuals. Dionysius is perhaps one of those misregistered, the comarch the responsible official; a charge is to be brought in the court of the epistrategus.

The hand is a decent cursive of the second or earlier third century. The mention of a comarch, and the liturgical quarrel, make the third-century date much more likely (10 n.).

→ Θ]ξαγένης καὶ Πανεχώτης τοῖς
 ἀπὸ κώμης χαίρειν.
 εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλομεν ὅτι πάντες
 οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ προσῆλθαν τῷ
 5 ἐπιτρόπῳ ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀπογρα-
 ψάντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
 παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς κωμή-
 ταις εἰς λειτουργίαν.
 Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς Παταήσιος
 10 μετέδωκε τῷ κωμάρχει ὥστε
 εἰ]πεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρα-
 τήγ]ου ἔνεκεν τῆς λειτουργίας
 ...]. θέλετε ἀνέλθατε (vac.)[
].ε...α[

3 ὑμας

5 επιτροπω; ω corr. from ου

9 υἱος

'Theagenes and Panechotes to those of the village, greetings. We want you to know that all those from the nome approached the procurator about those who have registered them in the city, and he has handed them over to the villagers for liturgical service.

And Dionysius the son of Pataesis has indicated to the comarch that he should speak (?) against him before the epistrategus about the liturgy . . .'

5 f. ἀπογραφάντων αὐτοῦς: the use of the active is striking, and must refer to the officials who made the registration; if the meaning were 'those who have registered themselves', the middle would be required. But who were the officials? and what kind of ἀπογραφή is meant? The appeal against it goes to an ἐπίτροπος: he might be identified with the epistrategus of line 11. Or was it some special procurator?

9 ff. μετέδωκε will mean 'inform', or perhaps 'deliver a summons'. But the rest is ambiguous: αὐτόν might be Dionysius or the comarch; the subject of εἰπεῖν might be Dionysius, the comarch, or the villagers. Easiest perhaps 'Dionysius has informed the comarch that he (the comarch) is to answer him (Dionysius) before the epistrategus in the matter of the liturgy . . .' This fits, given the function of the comarch in submitting nominations for liturgies. But I am not sure that it coheres with the abuses implied in 5-6. If Dionysius is the guilty official, and the comarch is to speak against him, line 9 must be *nominativus pendens*.

10 κωμάρχη: the office survives from the Ptolemaic period for a few years (OFayûm 8 of A.D. 5); then vanishes until the third century. The earliest attestations are: *Oxyrhynchite* A.D. 209/10 (2121 84, where the expansion κω(μάρχης) is very likely, given the subject of the text), A.D. 247/8 (2123 5); *Heracleopolite* A.D. 223 (PRossGeorg, V 20 R 3-4, as corrected in *BL* iii 158); *Fayûm* A.D. 226/7 (PLond. 1157 R, see for the date *JRS* 57 (1967) 137 n. 29), A.D. 250-253/6 (SB 9408-9, Heroninus Archive); *Marmarica* c. A.D. 204 (PMarm.: for the date see Rea, *Par. del Pass.* 112 (1967) 50-52). (PLond. 1220, of A.D. c. 202-7, has been corrected by Dr. J. D. Thomas. The other items cited by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* 131 f., are uncertainly dated and sometimes uncertainly read.)

3065. LETTER OF ARIUS TO AGRIPPINA AND CORNELIUS

20 3B.36/J (2-3) a

19.8 × 25 cm.

Third century

A substantial sheet, written in a fine large cursive of the third century. It was probably the same hand which wrote, though more hastily, the final greeting (21-3). The letter was folded up, and the address added on each of the two outer surfaces of the packet.

The writer is called Arius, and his brother Stephanus; but the parents he addresses have Roman names, Cornelius and Agrippina. The style of the letter is jerky and repetitious, the grammar vulgar. Either Arius was a better penman than he was composer; or the whole thing was dictated.

The content is tantalizing. Arius is about to make his escape from an embattled city, where unheard-of atrocities have happened, 'not war but man-eating'. The city is down-river from Oxyrhynchus (11). One might guess that it was Alexandria, and derive the letter from the battles which took place there rather frequently in the third century—the massacre under Caracalla (215), the contest between Macrinus and Elagabalus, the rising of Macrianus and Quietus, the Palmyrene wars, the revolt of Domitius Domitianus—or the incidental civil wars and pogroms. I see no way of choosing among these, except that the hand suggests the earlier rather than the later third

century (cf. e.g. PBerol. 7216, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) pl. 8, reign of Severus Alexander). The general subject and tone have a close parallel in PROSSGeorg. III 1, which Roberts referred to the events of 268–70 (see *Aus Antike und Orient*, Festschrift Schubart, 112).

The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed, and reading is often difficult. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Shelton for his help.

→ Ἀρει[ος] Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ Κορινθίῳ τοῖς γονεῦσι
πολλὰ χαίρειν.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχ[ο]μαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Στεφάνου. ἤδη πολλὰς ἐπιστο-
5 λὰς ὑμῖν ἔγραψα δηλῶν ὅτι μ[έλλ]ω πλέειν καὶ σωθῆ-
ναι τῆς πόλεω[ς] τάχα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε
γενομ[έ]ν[ων]· τριαυ[τ]α γέγονεν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐκ τοῦ
αἰῶν[ος] γέγονεν· νῦν ἀνθρωποφαγεία ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ πόλε-
μος [...]. οὐδετ[ι] τῆς πόλεως εὐρεθεὶς νῦν
10 ηρομ... λω. π. [...]. δε... ω τῷ Ἐπειφ[ῶ] δηλ[ώ]σει
δέ σοι Ἀυξάνουσα τὴν ἡμέραν ἥ [ἀ]ν[απλ]εύσω καὶ τὸ ὄρο-
μα δι' ο[ὗ] ἐάν σοι πέμψῃ ἡ [κ]ατέλιπ[ον] τραγήματα· ἔστιν δέ·
κάρρια διακόσια καὶ ἱσχάδες διακοσίας καὶ γραφῆα δύο·
αὐτὰ λήμψῃ μετὰ καὶ ἐπιστολῇ [...]. ης· διὸ κυρία μου
15 μήτηρ [...] εν. ακη. λεον χαίρου ὅτι ἔξω τῆς
πόλεως εἰμι· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤθελον [π]ρὸς σὲ ἐλθεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς
πόλεως ἀνθρω... ια οὐκ ἀφήκέν με· ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ζῶ-
μεν ... καις. [...] αἰσπασαί τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
Στέφανον καὶ ν σου· αἰσπασαί πρὸς ὄνομα
20 πάντας τοὺς ὑμᾶς φιλοῦντας πολλά.
ἐ[ρρωσθ]αί ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις
..... ουντας καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας.
..... Ἐπειφ[ῶ] ε"

(Back →)

24 ἀπόδος ρσα μυροπώλῃ ἵνα ἀπ[οδῶ] Ἀγριππίνῃ μητρὶ
25 π(αρά) Ἀρείου υἱοῦ.
26 ἀπ[ο]δ(ος) εν... [...] χει.... [...] μυροπώλῃ εἴν' ἀποδ(ῶ)
Ἀγριππίνῃ μητρὶ π(αρά) Ἀρείου.

'Arius to Agrippina and Cornelius his parents, many greetings. Before all else I pray to the god for your health and that of my brother Stephanus. I've already written you many letters saying that I'm about to sail and get clear of the city. Perhaps . . . about what's happened here. Things have happened, the like of which hasn't happened through all the ages. Now it's cannibalism, not war . . . Auxanousa will tell you the day on which (?) I'm going to sail up river, and the name, whoever it is by whom (?) she sends the dried fruit I left behind, viz., two hundred walnuts and two hundred figs and two pens—these you will receive with . . . letter as well. So . . . rejoice the more, my lady mother, because I am outside the city . . . I wanted to come to you, but the . . . of the city has kept me here. Well, if we survive . . . My best wishes to my brother Stephanus and your . . . Many best wishes to all those who love you, each by name. I pray for your health for many years as you live in good fortune (?) and harmony. . . . Epeiph 5.'

(Address) 'Deliver to . . . the myrrh-seller, so that he can deliver it to Agrippina my mother from her son Arius.'

1 *Ἀγριππίνῃ*: there is space for one letter before the *ν*, perhaps accidental; in 24 the reading is certain. The name is not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum*.

6 *τάχα* δὲ: possibly *τάχα* δὲ *ἡκοῦ[ca]τῃ* (Turner).

9 Perhaps *[...]. ος ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κτλ.* The first letter is *λ* or *μ*.

10 At the beginning *μέλλω* would be a good reading; then *ν* or perhaps *ει*, *εγ*, *αι*; what follows would allow *πλέειν*. E.g. *μέλλων πλέειν* or *μέλλω ἐγπλέειν* (Shelton). But I cannot fit in the first two letters, of which *ο* is certain and *η* likely; not *διο*.

14 *αὐτὰ*: first in its sentence: an anticipation of Modern Greek usage for which Ljungvik (*Beiträge* 8) quotes 1592 6 *αὐτὰ γὰρ δεξαμένη* 'having received these letters'.

ἐπιστολῇ. ης: perhaps *ἐπιστολῆς ἐ[μ]ῆς* or *ᾗ[λλ]ῆς* or *α[ὐτ]ῆς*.

15 After *μήτηρ*, perhaps *[κ]αὶ ἐν κακῇ πλέον χαίρου*. With *χαίρου* cf. NT Acts 3. 8 (D) *χαίρομενος*, *Passio Perpetuae* p. 82. 17 Gebhardt *χαίρεσθε*. The middle is the Byzantine and Modern Greek form; but the tendency is long-standing, and ascribed by Aristophanes to the barbarous *Datis* (*Pax* 291).

17 Probably *ἀνθρωποφαγία* again, though the space is a little short. The traces are no more than scattered spots of ink.

18 *. . . ο*: before *ο* apparently *φ* or *ψ*.

22 Perhaps *ἐγτυχοῦντας*.

26 *εν*: perhaps *ἐν Ὁξ[υρ]υνχείτῃ*. One expects a proper name before *μυροπώλῃ*: *Ἄρς[ᾱ]* might suit the space here and the preserved letters in 24.

3066. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS

19 2B.74/B (a)

11.5 × 16.3 cm.

Third century

A private letter of agricultural instructions, written across the fibres on the back of 3054.

- ↓ *Ἀπολλώνιος Σαραπάμμωνι χαίρειν.*
ἔπεμψά σοι κάκκον ἵνα λάβῃς
παρὰ τοῦ Παμέμφιος σηγάμου
ἄρτάβας δύο καὶ ἀναπέμψῃς διὰ Ἀχιλλέως
 5 *ἢ ἔχῃς παρὰ [c]οὶ ἐ[.].[.]λθ[.]* ἕως ἂν ἐρχόμε-
νος μ[.].[.]...[.]αν τοῦ ἀχύρου
καὶ ἀπέμεινας ἀλόγως, καίτοι βου-

λομένου μου εἰπεῖν σοι τὴν διατα-
 γὴν τῆς κατασπορᾶς καὶ θρυοκοπίας
 10 τ.ν ἐπὶ τουτωι...ωι καὶ ὅπως καῇ
 ἡ δεῖσα· δῆλωσον οὖν μοι εἰ μὴ ἐτοί-
 μως ἔχει ὁ Μῶρος ἀνελθεῖν καὶ εἰ εὗρες
 παρὰ ς[ο]ί· ἐργαζέσθω μετὰ Μέλανος τοῦ
 τέκτονος Πολυδεύκης ὁ μικρὸς καὶ μὴ
 15 αὐτοῦ ἀποστάτω· ἐτοιμασθήτωσαν οὖ(ν)
 αἱ μηχαναί, ἵνα μὴ ἀνέτοιμοι ὦμε-
 θα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἐπι[.....
 τλείσθω τὰ κτήματ[α].
 (m.² ?) ἔρρωσο.

Back ↓ (in left margin of 3054):

20 (m.¹) ϸα]ραπάμμωνι π(αρά) Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου.

2 ἵνα 15 οὐ 16 ἵνα 20 π'

‘Apollonius to Sarapammon, greetings. I’ve sent you a sack, so that you can get two artabas of sesame from Pamemphis and send them up by Achilles or keep them with you . . . until I come and . . . of the chaff. It’s unreasonable, the way you’ve stayed away even though I wanted to tell you the programme for the sowing and the rush-cutting . . . and how the rubbish should be burned. So let me know whether Morus is prepared to come up and whether you found (him?) with you. Little Polydeuces is to work with Melas the carpenter, and not to leave his side. So have the water-wheels ready, so that we aren’t unprepared after the . . . of the Nile. The properties are to be watered. Good health!’

(Address) ‘To Sarapammon from Apollonius.’

5 Possibly ἐ[ν] Θ[ώ]λθ[ει]. Then ἕως ἂν ἐρχόμενος or ἕως ἀνερχόμενος.

6 μ...[: probably μετὰ, e.g. μετὰ[φέρω].

10 Perhaps τῶν (the trace is a wide one). Then ἐπὶ τοῦ or ἐπὶ τούτῳ? But the dotted iotas are like no others in the piece, and ς might be a better reading of both.

17 ἐπι[: with this preposition, the noun should refer to the rise or overflowing of the river. The normal documentary vocabulary has nothing suitable: but there would be literary backing for ἐπίδοσιν or ἐπίρρυσιν (or perhaps ἐπίρροισιν, cf. ἐΐροια 1409 19 and perhaps 2874 i 28). See D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* 58–62, 69–71. Then (ἐπ)αν]τλείσθω τὰ κτήματ[α]. The stop might come before μετὰ or after Νείλου ἐπι[].

3067. LETTER OF ACHILLION TO HIERACAPOLLON

19 2B.76/F (12–13) a

13 × 18.8 cm.

Third century

This letter is written in an elegant hand of the chancery type. The content is meagre, and belongs to those exchanges of civil nothings which spread during the third and fourth centuries. Achillion, the writer, was apparently strategus of the

Marmarica. There is other evidence that this remote and barbarous region belonged to the province of Egypt, at least in the later second and in the third century; and 3067 certainly gives the impression that it was a nome like others in the Egyptian system, to be governed by career civil servants with friends at Oxyrhynchus. See P. Romanelli, *Rend. Pont. Acc. di Arch.* 16 (1940) 215-23.

→ Ἀχιλλίων Ἱερακαπόλ[λ]ωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ
χαίρειν.

μέλλων μεταπέμπεσθαι τὴν ἀδελ-
φὴν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὑ-
5 π' ἐμοῦ διαπεμφθέντων γράφω
πρῶτον μὲν ἀσπαζόμενός σε
καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
ἡμῶν Διονύσιον ἔπειτα προτρε-
πόμενος γράφειν μοι περί τε τῆς σω-
10 τηρίας σου καὶ ὧν ἐντεῦθεν χρή-
ζεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας ἔσει μοι
χαρι]ζάμενος· δόξομεν γὰρ διὰ
τῶν γ]ραμμάτων ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν.
(m.²) ἐρρώσθαί [ς]ε εὖχομαι.

Back →

15 (m.¹) Ἱερακαπόλλωνι [ἀδ]ελφῷ
(m.³) π(αρά) Ἀχιλλίωνος
ς[τ]ρ(ατηγοῦ) Μαρμαρικῆς.

4 ὑ- 16 π' 17 ς[τ]ρς

'Achillion to Hieracapollon his brother, greetings. Since I am in process of sending for my sister, I send you a letter, as in duty bound, by the hands of those whom I have dispatched for this purpose: a letter first to salute you and my sister and our son Dionysius; secondly to exhort you to write to me about your health and about your requirements here. Do this, and you will be doing me a favour: we shall have the impression, through our letters, of seeing one another face to face. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health.'

(Address) 'To Hieracapollon his brother (3rd hd.) from Achillion, strategus of the Marmarica.'

3068. NOTE ABOUT AMULET

20.3B.37/K (1-3) b

12.1 × 4.7 cm.

Third century

This brief note, without name of writer or addressee, is written across the fibres; the back of the slip is blank. The writer is interested in an amulet against tonsillitis. The amulet took the form of a gold plate, magically inscribed. Such plates were in common use; hence the objections of Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem (Lampe, *Patr. Gr. Lex.* s.v. *περίαμμα*). Instructions for their making are given, for example, in PGM vii 580 f.: *φυλακτήριον . . . πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος, ἐπιγραφόμενον ἐπὶ χρυσεῖου πετάλου κτλ.* The important part was the precise wording; and the recipient of this note is instructed to copy out the formula for tonsillitis and send it to Sarmates.

↓ τὸ πρὸς παρίσθμια περίαμμα
εἰς τὸ χρυσοῦν πέταλον τῷ Σαρμάτῃ
πέμψον γρά[]ψας εἰς πιττάκιον
ὥς περιέχει.

'The charm against tonsillitis on the gold plate, send it to Sarmates. Write it on a tablet word for word.'

1 *παρίσθμια*: not a serious complaint: Asclepius of Epidaurus treated it by gargling with cold water, Hippocrates cites it among ailments typical of older children (IG 4² (1) 126. 31; Hipp. *Aph.* 3. 26).

περίαμμα: amulets are mentioned in the magical prescriptions against various illnesses in BGU 1026 (22) 17. Cf. the curious ostrakon published by Plaumann, *Archiv* 6. 220 f., where the writer several times mentions *πεταλῖαι* and adds *ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ πεταλῖαι ἐπιγραφὴν ἐν φύλλοις*.

3-4 It is not clear why he should send the amulet and a copy of the words as well. Probably the writer intended 'Copy out the amulet on a tablet, and send the tablet to Sarmates.'

3069. LETTER OF AQUILA TO SARAPION

21.3B.26/A (5-7) a

10 × 22.2 cm.

Third/fourth century

A letter from an intellectual clique, written in an almost literary hand which I should assign to the third or early fourth century. The scribe may well be Aquila himself, since the greeting (25) is by the same hand as the main text. He seems to have used a very soft pen: the strokes are generally thick and dull, with occasional phrases in sharper and blacker lines as if he had sharpened the point. The one mark of punctuation is the rough breathing in line 5 ὅ.

The addressee was a philosopher (26). Aquila congratulates him on not flagging in his austerities, despite the difficult circumstances, and exhorts him to persist in the pursuit of virtue without yielding to worldly distractions. This sermon is familiar ground: such self-abnegation is naturally attributed by Philostratus to his assembly-kit

egg-head (*Vita Apollonii* 1. 8 and 13); Plotinus felt ashamed of existing in a body at all (Porphyry, *Vita* 1). The style is as self-conscious as the matter. Indeed the whole letter deserves to be compared with those of the Theophanes Archive, which show similar ambition in both hand and content: PHermRees 2-6, PRyl. 624, *Bull. Ryl. Lib.* 51 (1968) 177 (collected by A. Moscadi, *Aeg.* 50 (1970) 88 ff.).

- Ἀκύλας Cαραπίωνι
χαίρειν.
κομισάμενός σου τὰ γράμ-
ματα πάνυ ἥσθην· ἦ μάλιστα
5 ὁ ἡμέτερος Καλλίνεικος ἐμαρ-
τύρει περὶ τῆς διαίτης σου ἥς
ποιῇ καὶ ἐν τοιούτοις ὦν
πράγμασι[ν], μάλιστα μὴ
ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἀσκήσεως·
10 ἄξιον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπαινεῖν ἐ-
αυτούς, οὐχ ὅτι ποιούμεν ταῦ-
τα ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ ἐξαγόμεθα
ὑφ' ἐαυτ[ῶν]· ἀνδραγάθε[ι] οὖν
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτέλεσον
15 ὥς ἀν[η]ρ ἀγαθός, καὶ μ[ή]τε
ταρασσέ[τ]ω ἢ πλοῦτος ἢ ὥρα
ἢ ἄλλο τ[ι] τ[ῶν] τοιού[τ]ων, ὥς
οὐδὲν ὀφ[ε]λ[ος] ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς
μὴ παρούσης, ἀλλὰ φροῦδα καὶ οὐ-
20 δεινὸς ἄξια. θεῶν σωζόντων
προσδέχομαί σε ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου.
τὸ σκυλάκιον πέμψον Cωτη-
ρίδι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴ νῦν ἐν ἀγρῷ δια-
τρεῖβει. ἔρρω{ς}co cὺν τοῖς σοῖς.
25 ἔρρω{ς}co.

(Back →) Cαραπίωνι φιλοσόφωι
παρὰ Ἀκύλου
φίλου.

5 ὁ

13 -ε[ι] corr. from ι ?

'Aquila to Sarapion, greetings. I was overjoyed to receive your letter. Our friend Callinicus was testifying to the utmost about the way of life you follow even under such conditions—especially in your not abandoning your austerities. Yes, we may deservedly congratulate ourselves, not because we do these things, but because we are not diverted from them by ourselves. Courage! carry through what remains like a man! Let not wealth distract you, nor beauty, nor anything else of the same kind: for there is no good in them, if virtue does not join her presence, no, they are vanishing and worthless. Under divine protection, I expect you in Antinoopolis. Send Soteris the puppy, since she now spends her time by herself in the country. Good health to you and yours! Good health!'

(Back) 'To Sarapion the philosopher from his friend Aquila.'

¹ Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι: I have not identified either of the friends, or Callinicus (line 5). Sarapion was a philosopher (26): a profession whose membership was encouraged, at least in the second century, by exemption from *munera civilia* (Dig. 27. 1. 6. 8, Hadrian). See the list by Calderini, *Studi . . . U. E. Paoli* 153–5.

⁹ ἀκκήσεως: for the various shades of meaning, see Pfister in *Festgabe f. A. Deissmann* 76–81. Philosophical doctrine on the subject is summarized by Bernhard Lohse, *Askese u. Mönchtum* (1969) 52 ff.

¹² ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ: classical usage requires οὐκ, but μὴ is common in post-classical writers: see for example Schmid, *Atticismus* i 245 on Lucian.

¹⁹ φροῦδα: a choice word, familiar in Lucian, Aristides, etc., not in the papyri or the NT. Moeris 211. 26 Bekker commends it: φροῦδος Ἀπτικοί, ἄφαντος ἀφανής Ἑλληνες.

²³ αὐτή may refer to Soteris; or to a third party, 'the lady of the house' (3060 12 etc.).

3070. INDECENT PROPOSAL

39 3B.78/D (1–2) b

10.1 × 10.3 cm.

Plate VIII
First century

This curious piece is in fact a letter; it has been folded, and addressed on the back. But the main text, though it ends with the usual greeting, takes the form of a proclamation. This gives a mock-portentous note to the rather primitive proposition, shakily written and shakily spelt, which Apion and Epimas here offer to Epaphroditus. An equally primitive drawing in the right margin clarifies (without real necessity) their intentions.

The drawing has a label: ψωλή καὶ φίκις. φίκις has so far led a ghostly existence in the grammarians. Herodian i 88. 35 Lentz: disyllables in -κις are oxytone, τὸ δὲ φίκις βαρύνεται;¹ *Suda* iv 719. 24 Adler φικιδίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν (cf. 782. 24). The word can now be seen to have been current in the early Roman period. The genitive must be φίκιδος; whence φικιδίζειν in the same sense as πνγίζειν.

→	λέγει	Ἀπίων	
	καὶ Ἐπιμάς	Ἐπαφροδίτῳ	ψωλή
	τῷ φιλάτῳ	ὅτι	drawing
	ἡ διδῶς	ἡμεῖν τὸ	
5	πνγίαι	καὶ καλῶς	καὶ φίκις

¹ Lentz emended to *Κίκις*, a proper name (allegedly of Alcaeus' brother) which Herodian cites elsewhere as paroxytone (ii 641. 3). For this reason φίκις appears in Stephanus, but not in LSJ or its supplement.

σοί ἐστι, οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ
 δείρομέν σε ἐὰν δώσης
 ἡμεῖν τὸ ποιγίαι. ἔρρω(σο).
 ἔρρω(σο).

10 (Back →) ἀπόδ(ος) Ἐπαφροδ(ίτω) τῷ φιλτάτῳ.

2 επαφροδ 4 l. εἰ διδοῖς 8 l. πνυγίαι ερρω 9 ερρω 10 ἀποδ επαφροδ

2 Ἐπιμᾶς, if correctly read, must be the hypocoristic of Ἐπίμαχος.
 7 δείρομεν: 'thrash', as in the schoolmasters' motto φιλοπόνει, ᾧ παῖ, μὴ δαρῇς (see Schubart, *Das Buch* (3rd edn., Leipzig 1961) 41).
 8 ἔρρω(σό): faint and dirty; perhaps the writer tried to delete it, in favour of the more elegant placing in the next line.

VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS

3071. 16 2B.45/C (1-2)a. 6.7 × 23.4 cm. Reign of Decius. These line-ends come from an edict of the Prefect of Egypt, issued in the sole reign of Decius and here copied in a good cursive with touches of chancery style. The left side of the sheet is lost, and with it more than half of each line of writing (see 1 note). The back has been reused for a column of scrappy accounts, ending with a total in talents and drachmas.

The content of the edict is obscured by the damage. It has to do with Antinoites, and the avoidance and fulfilment of obligations. It results from a petition addressed to the prefect by a woman or (more probably) a city or its *boule*. The prefect rules that the defaulters must carry out their obligations, fixes a time limit of thirty days, and prescribes penalties for disobedience. It does not emerge what kind of obligation is in question: perhaps one connected with the performance and evasion of city offices (5, 8, 9, 17). Antinoite freedom from liturgies often gave rise to disputes (*Actes X Congr. Int. Pap., Varsovie*, 73 ff.), and may have some relevance here. SB 7696 illustrates the kind of case which might inspire such an edict at this date.

→ ¹ ἔ]παρχο[*c* Αἰγύ]πτου λέγει· ²]. ἐν μοῖ δικ[ά]ζ[ο]ντι δια³] ὑπαρχούσας (ὑπ-) αὐτῇ πε-
⁴]. προιχομένη (-ῖσχ-) και ⁵]οις ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὰς ⁶ ἀπρ]οφασίζτως προαγορευ-
⁷]. Ἀντινοέων πολιτεῖ- ⁸] μεθίστανται τὰς ⁹]. να . . ε καὶ πληρουν ¹⁰] καθηκούσας ἢ εἴ-
¹¹ τινι ¹²] εἴσω ἢ ἡμερῶν κα- ¹³] ὦν ὑπομνημάτων ¹⁴]. ε μὴ πειθεῖν ταύτη ¹⁵]. ειν ὀφείλοντες
¹⁶ τας ¹⁷]. πολιτεῖα αὐτοῖς ἐτι ¹⁸]. τα ἀπιθ[.] τοις προ- ¹⁹]. ματα εἰσαζαναίρε ²⁰]. σεται
²¹ προ[.]. ²² Τ]ραιανοῦ (-αῖ-) Δεκίου ²³] vac.

1 The only certainly attested prefect of the reign of Decius is Aurelius Appius Sabinus. If we restore his name here, and the normal titlature in 19, we have lines of about equal length: 1 Αὐρήλιος Ἀππίος Καβεῖνος ὁ διασημώτατος ἔ]παρχο[*c*; 19 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσίου Κωνίντου Τ]ραιανοῦ. Correspondingly the lacuna in the other lines will be of *c.* 40 letters. But note that the last date for Appius Sabinus (17. 7. 250) leaves room for a successor within the sole reign of Decius.

2 Probably ἐνέτυ]χεν. For the phrase cf. 3017 5 note.

8 τὰς: e.g. τὰς ἀρ[χάς.

16]. τα ἀπιθ[.]: some part of ἀπειθεῖν suggests itself; but the trace after θ is most like α (not ε or η, hardly ω).

17 e.g. εἰς ἀς ἂν αἶρε[θῶσιν.

18 πρό[θεσ?

20 The preserved papyrus is blank. It follows that Herennius and Hostilianus were not named. The edict therefore belongs before Dec. 250 (*Aeg.* 32 [1952] 155 f.).

3072. 22 3B.19/E (1-2)b. 7·8 × 8·9 cm. c. A.D. 197/200. This scrap comes from the top of a column; on the back, remains of a column of accounts, including two payments to nyktophylakes. The writing is a sober and informal chancery hand.

Content and lay-out suggest comparison with W. *Chr.* 41: *commentarii* of some official, probably the strategus. Cf. **3073** and **3074**; and PSI XIV 1444 (revised by Rea, *CdÉ* 47 (1972) 236). The space between lines 3 and 4 will mark a new section, i.e. a new day. The day's record begins with some function of the imperial cult: offerings, it seems, for Septimius Severus and his prefect Aemilius Saturninus.

→ ¹]εισφέρω[...]. . . . κατὰ ²]χιερ[...]. γ' ὡς πρόκειται ³]εν εἰς τὸ θέατρον κακεῖ τω ⁴] (vac.) ⁵]. ἐθύσεν ἔν τε τῷ σεβαστείῳ ⁶]αι εὐφημιῳ ⁷]. Περτινακ[⁸]. ος Αἰμίλιον. ⁹]τωννα[

² ἀρ]χιερὸς ὡς γ' would fit the traces well (-ρω- cannot be read).

³ E.g. ἐκάθει]σεν.

⁵ W. *Chr.* 41 ii 9-11 ἔθυσεν ἔν τε τῷ Καίσαρείῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μνασίῳ. For the Augusteum see **2553** 12 and note.

⁶ PSI XII 1265. 12 (A.D. 426 or 441) εὐφη[μ]ίαις καὶ ἱερομηνίαις ταῖς γιγνομέναις ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης. Unspecified acclamations before a meeting of the Oxyrhynchite senate (A.D. 370), **2110** 2.

⁷⁻⁸ Mutually dependent restorations: ⁷ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Περτίνακ[ος, ⁸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμό]ρος Αἰμιλίου [Σατορνίνου (prefect c. 197-200).

3073. 42 5B.75/G (2-4)c. 5 × 18·5 cm. Third century. Line-beginnings, in a good chancery hand, from the day-book of a strategus; the back is blank. Each day has a separate section, marked off from the next by a very extended paragraphus; the numeral which begins each section projects one letter into the margin. 6 ff. refer to the imperial cult.

→ ¹ φεγ[² προς[³ ωσμ[⁴ ριστα[⁵ ροις[⁶ κη ἱερᾶς (ἱ-) [οὔσης ⁷ αὐτο[⁸ τωντ[⁹ Αὐρηλι[¹⁰ καὶ ἰου[¹¹ καιτ[¹² καιτ[¹³ ανου[¹⁴ δεῖλιν[¹⁵ κθ ὁ στρατ[ηγὸς ¹⁶ βασιλικ[¹⁷ δρειαν[¹⁸ ..]. α. . . . [

⁶ ἱερᾶς: or ἱερᾶς [καὶ σεβαστῆς, as in PSI 1444. 5.

⁷ αὐτοκ[ρατορ- could be read. 9 ff. could be restored from W. *Chr.* 41 iii 8 ff.: Αὐρηλί[ου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Ἰου[λίας Μαμαίας τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν σεβαστῆς μητέρος Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ τ[ῶν ἱερῶν στρατοπέδων ± 20] καὶ τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος (τίτου) Μηουίου Ὀνωρατι]ανοῦ (or the same imperial titulature in the accusative). But Caracalla and Julia Domna (and the prefect Basilianus or Julianus) might suit equally well; or Aurelian and Vaballathus (and Statilius Ammianus). There seems to be no room for the pretorian prefects (W. *Chr.* 41 iii 13, PSI 1444. 7 f.).

¹⁴ περὶ]] δεῖλιν, cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iv 13.

¹⁵ ff. The strategus and his *basilikos grammateus* left for Alexandria?

3074. 18 2B.73/J (c). 10.3 × 16 cm. Third century. Another fragment (with upper margin) from the day-book of a strategus, cf. **3072** and **3073**. A substantial portion is lost to the right, as can be seen in line 2. The hand is of chancery type. Most of the piece is taken up with a report of proceedings: the strategus investigates on the spot the disappearance of some shepherds and the wounding or death of one of them. On the back, remains of five lines in cursive.

→ ¹ ὁ στρατηγὸς πρὸς τῷ λογιστηρίῳ δημο... [² ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν περιελθὼν πρὸς τῷ λ[ογιστηρίῳ ³] τωτος ποιμένων τοπαρχίας ἀραβ[⁴ κ]ατανέμοντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι (m.²) ὁ στρατ... [(m.¹) αμ... [⁵]κι βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτετ[⁶]υς καὶ γενόμενος εἰς τὸ ἄνω πεδίον [⁷]αρμωτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ διερμην[⁸]κηθῆναι ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν)· πόθεν νο... [⁹]ας ὑπονοεῖς. ἀπεκρέινατο ο. [¹⁰ ο]ὕκ' ἔ[¹¹]χεν τοῦ ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν. ὁ στρατηγὸς ¹¹ ἀπεκρ[εῖ]νατο· οὐ· ὡς κείται αὐτὸν εἶδρον με[¹²]... αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη. ἀπεκρέινατο· ε[¹³]ην συντετριμμένην καὶ τὸν ὦμον [¹⁴]τινα... φ...ιν [....].....[*remains of one more line.*

1 and 2 will have begun with the day of the month. The initial lacuna was therefore not large (and the beginning of line 11 will be complete as restored).

1 δημοσίαις (cf. W. Chr. 41 iii 37 etc.) cannot be read. Perhaps δημογ... [or Δημογ... [.

2 τὴν ἀγορὰν: cf. W. Chr. 41 iii 31, iv 7. The end might be restored e.g. πρὸς τῷ λ[ογιστηρίῳ τοῖς διαφέρουσιν ἐσχόλασεν (W. Chr. 41 iv 8 etc.).

3 Perhaps προ]εστῶτος. Ἀραβ[ί]ας would designate a toparchy on the east bank of the Nile, as in the Panopolite (PBeattyPanop. 1. 328) and many other nomes. Cf. on 7.

4 The corrector added ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπεν; the traces do not show whether στρατηγός was written in full or in abbreviation.

7 Ἀραβικοῦ might be the village in the Aphroditopolite, mentioned in **1746** 7; the nome-capital was ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (Strabo 17. 1. 35), which suits line 3. At the end, probably δι' ἐρμην[έως: parallels in Taubenschlag, OM ii 170.

8 Probably ἀδι]κηθῆναι. The sense may be 'mutilated', to judge from 13.

11-12 Apparently the witness answers 'No! He (the body) was lying like this when I found him ...'; the strategus asks '[Well, in what condition was he when] you left him?'

13 Perhaps τὴν κεφαλ[ή]ν.

3075. 19 2B.74/B (c). 5.5 × 7.5 cm. Third century. Formulary for the opening of a will. This text is written along the fibres, on the back of a register or list of persons. The register mentions a βουλευτής; this, and the hand, suggest that **3075** belongs to the third century.

Witnesses to a will would attend its opening and formally recognize their seals. The words on this slip of papyrus constitute an outline subscription, in which the witness could attest his participation; the form is quite general, with τίς τινος in place of a definite subject, as in other model formularies like SB 9226 and **2677**. I have not found an exact parallel to the phrasing in extant wills: **494** 32 ff. (a Greek will) has a similar

subscription in different words; presence of witnesses and recognition of seals are combined in BGU 1655. 60 ff. and 2348 ii 51 ff. (both Roman wills).

→ ¹] . . . τίς τινος παρή²[μην τῆς] διαθήκης ἀν[ο]ι³[γομέν]ης καὶ ἐπέγνω⁴ [. . . .].
 σφραγεῖδα ⁵ [. . . .].

‘ . . . I, X son of X, was present at the opening of the will and recognized (my?) seal.’

¹] . . . : Ἀνρήλι]ος would suit the traces; but it is really too long, unless the line projected into the left margin. Did the first word designate the documentary type, as in SB 9226? Alternatively, the whole thing could be a name] . . . ιστῖνος; but I can find none which fits.

¹⁻² παρή[μην: the spacing requires the long form, cf. the certain supplement in 3.

³ ἐπέγνω⁴: the ν is doubtful; it does not account for a low point of ink below the first upright. But ἐπέγνω and ἐπέγνωι leave further ink unaccounted for.

⁴ The trace before σφραγεῖδα looks most like η with cross-bar projecting; not e.g. ν, unless it had an unexpected linking-stroke. ὕγι]η might be relevant, see BGU 1655. 62; but I don’t see how to fit it in. The final trace in 5, a high horizontal stroke, has the appearance of a paragraphus (rather than an extended final letter): so that the sense should be complete with σφραγεῖδα.

3076. 27 3B.43/F (3-4) b. 8.8 × 10 cm. c. A.D. 225. Plate XI. This scrap, from the top right-hand corner of a document, cites a petition to Ti. Clau. Herennianus, who assumed the prefecture on direct orders from Rome when the removal of Epagathus left it vacant (2705 12 etc.). The writing is of some interest: a good round hand with occasional serifs; beta with extended base-line, kappa with the upper oblique flattened. I should have assigned it to the mid second century, but for the content; cf. Roberts *GLH* 11b, an early dated example. The back is blank, except for one trace of ink.

→ ¹ (m.²) ν ² (m.¹)] . . . ὡν ὑπατικοῦ Κυρίας ³] . . . βιβλίδιον . . . ⁴ δικαιοδότη διέποντι
 [κ]αὶ ⁵]] ρ] ⁶] . . . παρὰ Ἰουλίου Ἀμ- ⁷] . . . τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότη ⁸ οὗ τως ἔχει //
 Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίου ⁹ [Ἐρηνιανῷ τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότη διέποντι καὶ τὰ] μέρη τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας ἐκ θείας ¹⁰ [κελεύσεως παρὰ c. 30] τῶν ἐντείμῳ ἀπολυθέντων ¹¹ [c. 42] εἰδη.
 [. . .] εωστῶν μοι ἡγεμών ¹² [c. 42] . . . κυλ. [. . .] μα ἄλλῳ κατὰ χειρογρα traces of one more line
 before the break.

²] . . . ὡν: the trace is an oblique foot, e.g. ν. ὑπατικοῦ (read by Turner) seems unavoidable (τ has been corrected from π). This *consularis Syriae* is not named; probably the words form part of a longer phrase, which describes one of the military men involved in the case (cf. 10); compare e.g. *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie* ii 448. 5 f. (A.D. 195) βοηθῶ κορνικουλαρίων ὑπατικοῦ.

³ . . . : the first has a curved back. E.g. ἐπε[] [δοθέν.

¹¹ Perhaps χ[ρ]εωστῶν.

¹² After] . . . κυλ, ε or ο. E.g. Π[ε]κύλον ἄμα ἄλλῳ (Turner).

3077. A. [13] B4/4 (c) 1. 5×9·5 cm. A.D. 231/2. This census return, which mentions the *dux* M. Aurelius Zeno Januarius, was first printed and discussed in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (1970) 397. The text is reprinted here with minor amendments. Another document was originally glued on to the left; on the back, an account or register.

→ ¹ π(αρά) Αὐρηλίων Ματρεο[*c.* 19] ² οὐ μητ(ρός) Διεῦτος καὶ [*c.* 19] ³ ἀμφοτ(έρων) ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλεως· κ[ατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα ὑπὸ] ⁴ Αὐρηλίου Ζήνωνος Ἰα[νου-
αρίου (ἰα-) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου)] ⁵ στρατηλάτου καὶ Κλαυ[δίου Μασκουλείνου] ⁶ τοῦ
λαμπρότατα ἡγεμ[ονεύσαντος ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) πρὸς] ⁷ τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντος) θ (ἔτους)
Μάρ[κου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου] ⁸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καίσαρος τ[οῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν]
⁹ ἀπογρ(αφήν) τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμε[ῖν *c.* 17] ¹⁰ νικ[. . . .]ςμερ[. . .] [*c.* 19] ¹¹ η[.].
ιουθεω[*c.* 19] ¹² ε[.]ατρεου[*c.* 19] ¹³ ς[.]...[*traces of one more line*
before the break.

'From the Aurelii Matres (?) . . ., mother Dieus, and . . ., both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders of Aur. Zeno Januarius the most illustrious *dux* and Claudius Masculinus the most illustrious former prefect, we register for the house-to-house registration of the past 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord the . . . which belongs to us . . .'

9-10 Perhaps ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ποιμε[ν]νικῆ[ς . . .]ς μέρ[ος]ς ἡμε[ῖς]; but I can think of nothing to go before μέρος;]ς is very likely; not]ν. Ποιμε[ν]νικ(ῆς) .[. . .]ς is also possible.

11 E.g. (πρότερον) Αὐρηλίου Θέων[ος].

12] Ματρεου[.

3078. 19 2B.76/A (a). 10·2 × 7·1 cm. Second century. Oracle-question. This is a text of familiar type: see most recently R. A. Coles, *JEA* 53 (1967) 121. There are three points of interest. Helios-Sarapis has the unusual epithet νικαφόρος, with Doric alpha. The subject is an eye-ailment: such maladies are so prevalent in Egypt, that Hermes himself produced a manual of treatment (Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* 173). The text itself is abnormally clear and literate, and the basic structure certain: τοῦτό μοι δός forms the apodosis of the conditional, and means 'return this slip to me.' (Similarly in 2613 the stop should come before εἰ μέλλω.) See Coles, op. cit. 122. The back is blank.

↓ ¹ Διὶ (διῷ) Ἡλίωι Σαράπιδι Νικαφόρῳ· εἰ ἐπιτρέπεις μοι χρήσασθαι Ἑρμείνῳι
[Ἐ]ρμιοπολίτῃ ἰατρῶι (ἰα-) πρὸς θεραπείαν ⁴ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦτό μοι συμφέρει,
⁵ τοῦτό μοι δός. ⁶ . . .[διειλαμ . . .].

1 νικαφόρῳι: epithet of many deities, but not so far of Sarapis: see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Nikephoros

(1). The Doric form occurs again in Alexander's letter to the Amazons, Ps.-Call. p. 126. 9 Kroll. Is it a learned touch, like the adscript iotas?

6 This line is indented *c.* 6 letters. καὶ (but not ραί) διειλάμην ..[(or κατ[α]διειλάμην ..)] would be acceptable readings. The space is short for Ζαρ[άπι]δι.

3079. 22 3B.21/N (3-4)a. 15 × 26.5 cm. Fourth century. A list of ships, with their owners, captains, and cargoes (or capacities): cf. **2415**. The transcript begins with the first complete entry; there are traces of at least three lines above. On the back, remains of two columns of accounts in denarii.

→ ¹ πλοῖον Λι.....[.....]..... ² (vac.) [.....][.]. ³ πλοῖον Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀμμ[..... ὕ]πὸ Ἀπφοῦν ⁴ κυβερνήτην [(ἄρτ.)]. ψμζ ⁵ πλοῖον Λευκαδίου ὑπὸ Κάλβι[ο]ν κυβερ(νήτην) (ἄρτ.) Ἰβ ⁶ πλοῖον Σαραπίωνος σπεκουλ(άτορος) ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον ⁷ κυβερνήτην (ἄρτ.) τη ⁸ πλοῖον Εὐλογίου Ματρίνου ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦν ⁹ κυβερνήτ[ου]ην (ἄρτ.) ωλ

5 κυβερ 6 σπεκουλ'

'Boat of L.... (3) Boat of Julianus (son of Ammonius?), under Aphous as captain, (), 747 (artabas). Boat of Leucadius, under Salvius as captain, 3,212 art. Boat of Sarapion the *speculator*, under Heraclius as captain, 318 art. Boat of Eulogius son of Matrinus, under Aphous as captain, 830 art.'

1 The last letter is apparently ρ with an abbreviation stroke. Probably κ]υβερ(νήτην): line 2, where we expect the word, is blank except for a figure at the end.

3080. 27 3B.43/E (1-3)a. 10.5 × 12.3 cm. Second century. An 'order' for various household utensils and supplies. The back is blank.

→ ¹ ἐντολὴ Πετεύριος πρὸς Πλου²τίωνα φίλον. ³ λα[.]. κηνον τέλειον α ⁴ ἐλαίου ξενικοῦ χοῦν [] ⁵ πορφύρας παρατύπου στατ(ῆρες) ι ⁶ λαγύνιον ὑελοῦν ἐν θήκη ⁷ νεώτερον ⁸ σφθαιροληκύθου κρ[.]. οι β

'Instruction of Peteuris to his friend Plution. Laodicean garment (?), in perfect condition, 1, Foreign oil, a chous. False purple, 10 staters. Glass flagon with case, fairly new. 2 rings (?) for the globe oil-flask (?).'

3 λα[.]. κηνον: κη (rather than και or μι) seems the best reading of the cursive group; before that the foot of a descender. λα[δ]ικηνόν would fit (λα[v- probably too long), but its credentials are dubious, see LSJ Suppl. s.v. λαυδικη(νόν?).

5 παρατύπου: of false money, **1411** 12; of false measure, SB 9454 (2) 10. Possibly this is the imitation purple made from madder (PHolm. 26. 29 ff.); fabric so dyed is ψευδοπόρφυρον, **1051** 15.

8 There might be room for a narrow letter between φ and θ. If the reading printed is right.

I suppose the theta must be intrusive; *εφαιρολήκυθος* might be an oil-flask of the globular type (D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 253).

κρ.[.].οι: after ρ the top of a high vertical. Possibly *κρίκοι*, though it is short for the space. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* i 125 shows a globular flask which is attached to its bucket-handle by two bronze rings.

3081. 19 2B.75/K (4)a. 11 × 31.5 cm. Third century. A short account of jars, written on the back of 3050.

↓ ¹]εχον κεραμίων ² ων ἀποκειμένων ³ παρὰ Διογένην ρλγ ⁴ τῇ
 πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ ⁵ παρὰ Χαρμόσυνον β̄ ⁶ Επειφ̄ κᾱ εἰς οἶκόν μου ⁷ ᾱ κδ̄ εἰς οἶκόν μου
⁸ ἀνακεκαλυμμένον ᾱ

‘... Jars ... in store with Diogenes, 133. The first day, 1. For Charmosynus, 2. Epeiph 21, for my house, 1. 24th, for my house ... uncovered, 1.’

¹]εχον rather than ε̄]εχον.

⁵ Χαρμόσυνον: the name (one example in Pape-Benseler) seems more likely than a reference to the festival Χαρμόσυνα.

⁸ ἀνακεκαλυμμένον: an opened jar? Cf. 1297 g. I don’t see what the word would mean if it belonged to οἶκον.

3082. 5 1B.33/A (a). 9 × 11.4 cm. Third century. Agathus, occupied with embarking the *annona*, protects his mother by letter: this letter to Phantias, perhaps the village scribe; another to someone else, perhaps the village headman.

→ ¹ Ἀγαθος Φανία τῶι ² ἀδελφῶ πλείστα χαίρειν. ³ καλῶς μὲν ἐποίησας ⁴ δηλώσας
 μοι περὶ τῆς μητρός, ⁵ κρεῖτ’τον δὲ ποιήσεις ἐπιστὰς ⁶ ἔστ’ ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνο⁷χληθῇ.
 ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τοῦ⁸του τῶ ἡγουμένῳ· καὶ αὐτὸς ⁹ δὲ ἀνελθεῖν βουλόμενος ¹⁰ οὐ δεδύνημαι
 μόνος [[γαρ]] ¹¹ ἐν τῇ ἐμβολῇ [[εἰμι]] ὦν. ¹² ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι. Back → ¹³ Φανία
 ... γρ() π(αρά) Ἀγάθου ἀδελ(φου).

‘Agathus to Phantias his brother, very many greetings. You did well to let me know about Mother, and you will do better to stay by her until she stops being bothered. I’ve written to the headman about this. I should like to come up myself, but haven’t been able to, having no one with me in the loading of the corn. I pray for your health.’

(Back) ‘To Phantias ... from Agathus his brother.’

⁸ ἡγουμένῳ: he might be a village official (PRyl. 196. 9–10 note), though I have not found him attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome; but equally he may head a professional group (γεωδίων PGrenf. ii 43. 9), or work for an official (τοῦ στρατηγοῦ 294 19).

Back. The word after Φανία seems to end in -γρ() ; the first letter might be kappa; but κωμογρ(αμ-ματεῖ) doesn’t really fit the traces, nor does βατ γρδ.

3083. 22 3B.16/A (1-4) a. 13.5 × 9.2 cm. Third century. A business note, written on the back (across the fibres) of a piece cut from a roll of accounts. There is no address.

↓ ¹ Αὐρήλιος Σαραπιακὸς Διοσκόρῳ τῷ ² τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. ³ ἴσθι ἡμᾶς μόνας ὀφείλοντας Καλπουρνίῳ ⁴ (ἀρτάβας) λδ· καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ⁵ εἰάν οὖν ἐπείγητε (1. -ται) μετρηθήτωσαν αὐτῷ ⁶ αἱ (ἀρτ.) λδ· καὶ οὐκ ἐγένου εἰς τὸν βορρᾶ ἔνεκεν ⁷ τῶν φυλάκων οὔτε ἀφείκας τὸν γέροντα ἐνέγκαι· ἐξ αὐ⁸τῆς οὖν ἢ πέμψον ἢ σὺ γενοῦ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔνεγκον ⁹ αὐτούς. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχο(μαι).

‘Aurelius Sarapiacus to Dioscorus his most honoured friend, greetings. You must know that we owe Calpurnius only 34 artabas, and the remainder from my brother’s. So if he is pressed, have the 34 art. measured out to him. You haven’t been to the north about the guards, and you haven’t let the old man go to bring (them). So either send him, or go there yourself and bring them, at once. I pray for your health.’

3084. 29 4B.44/G (2-3) a. 11 × 11 cm. Second to third century. A business-like note: ‘The prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th.’ The point may be an implied warning: the prefect is already near the borders of the Oxyrhynchite; the addressee Themistocles should make haste to put the affairs of his ἐπιτροπή in order before the inspection begins.

→ ¹ Ἡράκλειος Θεμιστοκλεῖ τῷ ² τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. ³ ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμὼν λέγεται ἐν ⁴ τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ γεγονέναι ⁵ τῇ κδ̄ ἐσπέρας· ὅπερ ἴν’ εἰδῆς, ⁶ κύριέ μου, γράφω σοι. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομ(αι) ⁷ κύριέ μου πανοικ(εῖ) εὐτυχοῦντ(α). Back → ⁸ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπιτρόπῳ.

‘Heraclius to Themistocles his most honoured friend, greetings. His Excellency the prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th at evening. I write to let you know this, my lord. I pray for your health, my lord, in good fortune with all your household.’

Back ‘To Themistocles the procurator.’

¹ Θεμιστοκλεῖ: not identifiable. The name is fairly common in the first century A.D. (1661 4-5 n.); thereafter only SB 9305 and 103 (a gymnasiarch and prytanis, A.D. 316).

³ κράτιστος: the title suggests a date not much later than the second century (Stein, *Die Präfekten* 177 f.), though the hand would allow more latitude.

3085. 22 3B.15/C (6-9) b. 8.8 × 11 cm. Third century. Financial arrangements, and a threat to back them up, written across the fibres in a practised cursive. The back has traces of ink.

↓ ¹ Ἑρμείας Σαραπίωνι τῷ ² φιλότατῳ χαίρειν. ³ ἀλόγως ἀποστὰς οὐ καλῶς ⁴ ἐποίησας ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ χοιριδίου ἐν ⁶ (δρ.) ξ· καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις μετὰ βαλόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ⁸ τῷ διδόντι σοι τὴν ἐπιτολήν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰς ἴσας (ῖ-) ¹⁰ ἥδη ἔσχον· μὴ τοίνυν ¹¹ ποιήσης με κνυ ¹² ἀλόγως, ἵνα (ῖ-) μὴδὲ τὰ ἀν¹³αλώματα ἀπαιτήσω σε. ¹⁴ [ἐ]ρρωσο.

'Hermias to Sarapion his very dear friend, greetings. You ought not to have gone off unreasonably with the price of the pig i.e. 60 dr. So kindly pay it over to Alexander, the man who brings you this letter, from whom I've received the same sum. So don't involve me in unreasonable bother (?), otherwise I may claim the expenses from you too. Good health.'

6 (δρ.) ξ: a substantial pig, to judge from the prices listed by Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 231 f.

11 Apparently not κνυλῆναι; κνυλλεσθαι might just be possible.

3086. 4 1B.61/K (a). 15.3 × 7.6 cm. Third/fourth century. A business note, written across the fibres (and parallel with the greater dimension) of a slip of papyrus. The hand is an elegant upright cursive of the third or early fourth century. There is no address on the back, though folds parallel with the writing are clearly visible.

↓ ¹ Νεμεσιανὸς Κολλούθῳ τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν. ² ὁ Σύρος πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸ τάλαντον εἵληφε καὶ Νεῖλος ἔτι πάλαι ³ (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ψ, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ αὐτῷ μετεβαλόμεθα· μὴ οὖν ταραστέτω ⁴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ ἀμέμπτως ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντα· ⁵ τὴν δὲ λοιπάδα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ οὐσαν τοῖς λινούφοις (-ῦφ-) τήρη[σο]ν ⁶ μὴδὲν βλαπτόμενος· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις αἱ σπουδαὶ τῶν ⁷ φίλων φαίνονται. (m.²?) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι.

'Nemesianus to Colluthus his very dear friend, greetings. Syrus had the talent a long time ago, and Nilus the 1 tal. 700 dr. ages ago, and we paid over the remainder to him as well. So let him not stir up against us a man who has been a perfect partner to us for such a long time (?). Keep the remainder, which isn't large, for the linen-weavers; it will do you no harm. It's in these things that the active benevolence of one's friends shows itself. (2nd hd.?) I pray for your health.'

3087. 23 3B.8/F (4-5)a. 10.5 × 22.5 cm. Third/fourth century. An ill-spelt letter, written (both text and final greeting) by a practised hand; the back is blank. Pataris believes himself to have rented a certain area; Ptolemaeus and Heraclius claim it instead; Nunechium is to determine the facts.

→ ¹ κυρία Νουνειχίῳ Πατάρι(ν) ² χαίριν. ³ καθὼς συνεχώρησέν μ[ου]οι ⁴ Διόσκορος ὁ ταιλώνης τὰ ὄρια ⁵ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος μέχρι τῆς καθλαμείας τῆς Βασιτιάδος ⁷ (δρ.) φ απ. . θα δε καὶ ἡργακάμη(ν) ⁸ εἰς τὰ ἐμειθωκάμην ⁹ καὶ οὐκ αἰπετράπην ὑπὸ Πτο¹⁰λαιμαίου καὶ Ἑρακλ[]'έου, ¹¹ εἰ μὲν δέδωκαί ἐκ τῶν ἐμειθ¹²ωκάμην 'Διόσκορος' γράψον μοι

καὶ οὐ¹³κ ἐργάζομαι εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ὄ¹⁴ρια, ἢ δὲ τὸ ὄριον τὸ τῆς Τα¹⁵κὸνα αὐτοῖς δέδωκε
 γράψο(ν) ¹⁶ μοι καὶ οὐκ αἰπιτρεῖπ[.]ω αὐτο. ¹⁷ τοις εἰς τὰ ἡμῶν ἔρχαισται. ¹⁸ οἶδε δὲ
 καὶ αὐτὸς Διόσκορος ¹⁹ ὅτι εἰδὸν τριάκοντα ἔτη ²⁰ ἔχω τὰ ὄρια ταῦτα. ²¹ ἔρωσόν μοι
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

4 l. τελ- 8 l. εἰς ᾶ 9 l. ἐπετρ- 11 l. δέδωκε, ἐξ ᾶν 14 ῖ 15 l. δέδωκε γράψο
 16 l. ἐπιτρεπω 17 l. ἔρχεσθαι 21 l. ἔρωσω

'To my lady Nunechium, Pataris sends greetings. As Dioscorus the tax-farmer conceded me the area of Helicon as far as the reed-bed at Bassias for 500 dr., and I went off (?) and worked on what I had rented and was stopped by Ptolemaeus and Heraclius—if Dioscorus has given (them) part of what I rented, write to me and I won't work on that area; but if he has given them the area at Tacona, write to me and I'll stop them coming on to our property. Dioscorus himself too knows that it's now thirty years that I've had this area. Good health for many years.'

1 *Νουνειχίω*: Pape-Benseler cites solitary examples of *Νουνεχία* and *Νουνέχιος*.

Πατάρι(ν): the scribe seems to have written the final *ν* in full, and then overwritten it with *ῖ*:

1. *Πατάρις* or *-ρεῖς*?

4-6 Helicon at least should be a place-name, like Tacona in 14 f. Neither Helicon nor Bassias is among the geographical names in *WB* iii or *WB Suppl.* iii.

6 *Βασιτιάδος*: not *Βακχιάδος*.

7 (δρ.) *φ*: the figure is much overwritten, with traits of *γ* and *α* (?) as well.

απ. θαδε: the trace suggests *απαρθα*: for *ἀπηλθα δέ*?

16 Apparently *αυτοῖ*, i.e. *αὐτοῖ(ς)*, with *-τοις* repeated in 17 by mistake.

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Words completely restored, i.e. of which no portion is extant in the text, are not indexed; nor is the article.

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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβὴς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς
Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβὴς Σεβαστὸς Year
unknown 3018 1-3.
Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Λούκ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐς. Περτ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβ. Παρθ. Μέγ. καὶ Μάρκ. Αὐρ. Ἀντ.
Εὐς. Σεβαστοί Year 15(?) 3030 17-20.
Year 8 3018 5.

ELAGABALUS or SEVERUS ALEXANDER

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ . . . Year 2 3032 8.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος Year 9 3077 7.
?Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος] Αὐρήλιος [Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστὸς (and Julia
Mamaea) 3073 9.

PHILIPPI

Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι Καίσαρες οἱ κύριοι Year 2 3046 11-13 Year 3 3049 A 9-10, B 12-13
(+ Σεβαστοί).

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς καὶ Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος
Γενναϊότατος καὶ Ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοί Year 2 3047 40-2 Year 4 3049 A 20-3.

Year 3 3048 9, 24

Various years 3047 4 *et passim*.

DECIVS

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος Μέσσιος Κύνιος] Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Year 1? 3071 19.

GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐελδου-
μιανὸς Οὐολουσιανὸς Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοί Year 3 3053 1-4.

VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Γαλλιηνὸς Σεβαστοί Year 3 3035 6.

VALERIAN (I or II?)

] Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος [3029 6.

GALLIENUS?

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος(?) <Γαλλιηνός> Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς
Σεβαστός Year 12(?) 3054 1-2.

DIOCLETIAN

Διοκλῆς Year 1 3055 7.

Year 1 3056 4.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIVS AND GALERIVS, CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς σεβαστοί καὶ Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
καίσαρες Year 14 = 13 = 6 3036 4-8 3037 4-9, 22-7 3038 5-12 3041 1(?) Year 15 = 14 = 7
3041 9.

οἱ κυρ. ἡμ. Διοκλ. καὶ Μαξ. καὶ Κωνστ. καὶ Μαξ. σεβαστοί Year 13 = 12 = 5 3039 3-7 3040 3-6.

MAXIMINVS AND CONSTANTINE?

Year 5 = 3? 3042 2.

GALERIVS AND MAXIMINVS

Year 20 = 8 3043 7.

MAXIMINVS, CONSTANTINE, AND LICINIUS

Year 9 = 7 = 3 3044 1.

CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λικίνιος σεβαστοί Year 8 = 6 3044 12.

Year 5 = 3? 3042 2.

Year 10 = 8 3045 2.

III. CONSULS

Κεουήρω καὶ Οὐικτωρείῳ ὑπάτοις A.D. 200 **3019** 2-3.
ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ἀλβεῖνου τὸ [β] καὶ Δέκτρου A.D. 263 **3054** 10-11.
See also Index II (Trajan).

IV. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

Ἀθύρ **3053** 5.
Γερμανίκειος **3051** 12.
Δεκεμβρίων (εἰδῶν) **3018** 10 (*δεκενβ- pap.*).
Δῖος **3054** 20.
Ἐπεῖφ **3025** 6 **3050** ii 35 **3053** 18 **3065** 10, 23
3081 6.
Θῶθ **3026** *back* 2 **3043** 7.
Λῶος (= Παῦνι) **3054** 3.
Μαρτίων (εἰδῶν) **3019** 4.
Μεσορή **3029** 3.
Μεχείρ **3026** i 22 **3036** 13 **3048** 22 **3049** A 23
[3052 2] (**3063** 26).

Νέος Σεβαστός **3053** 4.
Παῦνι **3016** 3 **3030** *head* **3039** 12 **3041** 10
3054 3.
Παχῶν **3015** 6 **3026** i [6], 18, *back* 2 **3030** 21.
Τῶβι **3015** 13 **3032** 6.
Φαμενώθ **3035** 7 **3037** 15, 33 **3038** 20 **3047** 42
3048 5, 9, 24 **3055** 8 **3056** 4.
Φαρμουῖθι (**3018** 5) [**3030** 20] **3032** 7 **3034** 12.
Φαῶφι **3026** i 23 **3042** 3.
Φεβραρίαις (εἰδοῖς) **3054** 11.
Χοιάκ **3028** 1 **3040** 8.

(b) DAYS

εἰδοί **3018** 10 **3019** 3 **3054** 11.
ἡμέρα Ἐρμοῦ **3026** i 7?

V. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀγαθοκλῆς *see* Index VI (d) s.v. *παρεμβολή Ἀγ.*
Ἀγαθος **3082** 1, 13.
Ἀγριππίνη, m. of Arius **3065** 1, 24, 26.
Ἀδρατος **3063** 5.
Ἀθηναῖος, f. of Theon **3059** 8.
Ἀθηνόδωρος **3015** 7.
Αἴλιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Σεργῆνος, (ex-)strategus of
Metelite **3026** i 14, *back* 1.
Αἴλιος Διογ(ένης?) **3034** 13.
Αἴλιος Ἡρακλείδης, P. **3046** 24.
Αἰμίλιος [Σατορνίνος? (praef. Aeg.)] **3072** 8.
Ἀκύλας **3069** 1, 27.
Ἀλβεῖνος *see* Index III.
Ἀλέξανδρος **3085** 7.
Ἀλέξανδρος *see also* Index VI(d).
Ἀλφειος Λόγγος, xenokrites **3016** 10.
Ἀμ- *see* Ἰούλιος Ἀ.
Ἀμεννεῦς, flute-player (or s. of Auletes) **3058** 18.
Ἀμμ-, f. of Julianus (?) **3079** 3.
Ἀμμων, guard **3055** 3 **3056** 1.
Ἀμμώνιος **3057** 1.
Ἀμμώνιος, Aur., procurator *Alexandreae* **3031** 1.

Ἀμμώνιος, chicken-man **3055** 2 **3056** 1.
Ἀμμώνιος, royal scribe **3030** 1, [*back* 2?].
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Antinous **3043** 5.
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Craton **3046** 34.
Ἀμμώνιος *see also*]λιος Ἀ.
Ἀμμωνοῦς, d. of Sarapammon, gd.-d. of Phantias,
sist. of Aur. Didymus alias Antonius *et al.* **3049**
A 2, 4, B 3, 5.
Ἄννιος Διογένης, procurator Heptanomia **3031** 2,
back.
Ἄνουβίων **3050** i 36.
Ἄνουβίων, s. of Aphynchis **3039** 8.
Ἄνουβίων *see also* Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀ.
Ἀντίνοος, f. of Ammonius **3043** 4.
Ἀντίνοος, s. of Eudaemon **3037** 19.
Ἀντίοχος, s. of Sarapion, gd.-s. of Exacon **3047** 14.
Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, Aur., in charge of farm
of agoranomeion **3053** 5.
Ἀντωνίνος, Aur., procurator *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι*
3046 7.
Ἀντώνιος *see* Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀ.
Ἀπίων **3070** 1.

- Ἀπολλι- 3016 22.
 Ἀπολλινᾶρις *see* Κάκκιος Α., Οὐμέ[ριος](?) Α.
 Ἀπολλογένης 3063 1, 25.
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3015 8.
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3066 1, 20.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, br. of Didyme and Theonas 3059 1.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, secretary 3058 8.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, secretary to court-clerk Theon 3062 14.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Apollonius?, surveyor 3057 1, 31.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Ptolemaeus 3061 19.
 Ἀπολλώνιος *see also* Διόδωρος ὁ καὶ Α.
 Ἀπτος *see* Προκόπτων.
 Ἀπφοῦς, captain 3079 3, 8.
 Ἄρειος, s. of Agrippina and Cornelius, br. of Stephanus 3065 1, 25, 27.
 Ἄρειος, s. of Ptolemaeus, br. of Sarapion 3015 6.
 Ἄριος 3040 6.
 Ἀρποκράτης(?), Alexandrian envoy 3020 1 ii 6.
 Ἀρποκρατίων, Aur., strategus 3032 1.
 Ἀρσᾶς(?), myrrh-seller 3065 24, 26.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, *nomicus* 3015 9, 16.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος *see also* Index VI(d).
 Ἀρχέλαος, s. of Heraclas, secretary to strategus Theon 3061 1, 21 3062 1, 17.
 Ἀσκληπιάδης, Aur., ex-gymnasiarch, prytanis, senator, decaprotus 3049 A 6, B 8.
 Ἀτιλιανός *see* Κλαύδιος Α.
 Αὐλητής(?) *see* Ἀμεννεῦς.
 Αὐξάνουσα 3065 11.
 Αὐρηλία *see* -τις.
 Αὐρήλιος *see* Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, Ἀντωνῖνος, Ἀρποκρατίων, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀφοῦς, Δε.των, Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Διόσκορος, Ἑρμοκλ-, Ζήνων Ἰα[νουάριος, Θέων, Ἰέραξ, Ἰουλιανὸς Μάξιμος, Καλλίνικος, Μαρκιανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, Ματρέας(?), Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος, Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων, Πολιτικός, Σαραπιακός, Σαραπίων, Σερηνοθέων, Τιβέριος.
 Ἀφοῦς, Aur., taxman 3043 8.
 Ἀφῶγχις, f. of Anubion 3039 8.
 Ἀχιλλεύς 3066 4.
 Ἀχιλλίων, strategus of the Marmarica 3067 1, 16.

 Βαβίδιος Ῥοῦφος, *xenokrites* 3016 6.
 Βαλσαμέα, Mesopotamian slave-girl 3053 15.

 Γάιος *see* Ιούλιος Πόστομος.
 Γέμινος *see* Κλ(αύδιος) Γ.

 Δε.των, M. Aur., s. of Silvanus (?) 3053 14.
 Δέκτρος *see* Index III.
 Δημητ() *see* Χαιρήμων ὁ καὶ Δ.

 Δημήτριος, f. of Isidorus, gd.-f. of M. Aur. Mar-
 cianus alias Heracles 3053 8.
 Δημήτριος, gymnasiarch 3063 4.
 Δημήτριος, strategus 3025 1, 7.
 Διδ[] 3015 14.
 Διδύμη 3059 1, *back*.
 Δίδυμος 3031 3.
 Δίδυμος, systates 3039 12 3040 9.
 Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Aur., senator, s. of Sara-
 pammon, gd.-s. of Phanias, etc. 3049 A 1, B 1.
 Δίδυμος *see also* Αἴλιος Δ., Μετίλιος Δ., Πάλλας ὁ
 καὶ Δ.
 Διεύς, m. of Aur. Matres(?) 3077 2.
 Διογ- *see* Αἴλιος Δ.
 Διογένης 3063 1.
 Διογένης 3081 3.
 Διογένης *see also* Ἄννιος Δ.
 Διόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος 3047 13.
 Διονυς() (ex-)exegetes 3034 12.
 Διονύσιος 3019 14.
 Διονύσιος 3067 8.
 Διονύσιος, f. of Isidorus 3021 i 6.
 Διονύσιος, f. of Paulus 3037 11.
 Διονύσιος, s. of Pataesis 3064 9.
 Διονύσιος *see also* Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Δ., Φλ(άουιος) Δ.
 Διόσκορος 3083 1.
 Διόσκορος, tax-farmer 3087 4, 12, 18.
 Διόσκορος, M. Aur., boat-owner 3053 18.
 Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀνουβίων, royal scribe of Metelite
 3026 i 15.
 Δωρίων, eclogistes of Metelite 3026 i 10, 14.
 Δωσίθεος *see* Index VI(b).

 Εἶος, M., *ex-praef. Aeg.* 3033 6.
 Ἑκουίτιος Κλανδιανός, *xenokrites* 3016 8.
 Ἐξακῶν, f. of Sarapion, gd.-f. of Antiochus 3047
 14.
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος 3070 2, 10.
 Ἐπικράτης *see* Index VI(d).
 Ἐπιμᾶς 3070 2.
 Ἐπίμαχος, assistant to systates 3040 10.
 Ἐπίμαχος, f. of Ptolemaeus 3046 23.
 Ἐρεννιανός 3028 10, *see also* Κλαύδιος Ἐ.
 Ἑρμείας 3085 1.
 Ἑρμεῖνος, Hermopolite doctor 3078 2.
 Ἑρμῆς 3062 8.
 Ἑρμοκλ-, Aur., 3050 ii 21.
 Εὐάγγελλος 3058 20.
 Εὐδαίμων, f. of Antinous 3037 19.
 Εὐδαμία *see* Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐ.
 Εὐλόγιος, s. of Matrinus, boat-owner 3079 8.

 Ζακάων, s. of Lucius, donkey-driver 3042 6.

Ζήνων 'Ια[νουάριος, Aur., *dux* 3077 4.

*'Ηιος *see* Εἶος.

'Ηλίας, taxman 3044 8.

'Ηρακλᾶς, f. of Archelaus 3061 1.

'Ηρακλει- 3050 i 37.

'Ηράκλεια *see* Καλπουρνία 'Η.

'Ηρακλείδης, f. of Polydeuces 3046 20.

'Ηρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης, f. of Aur. Sarapion 3046 3.

'Ηρακλείδης *see also* Αἴλιος 'Η.

'Ηράκλειος 3084 1.

'Ηράκλειος, ship's captain 3079 6.

'Ηράκλεος 3087 10.

'Ηράκλεος, f. of Paulus, 3044 4 3045 3.

'Ηρακλῆς *see* Μαρκιανὸς ὁ καὶ 'Η.

Θαῆσις, d. of Horus, m. of Philadelphus 3033 2.

Θεαγένης 3064 1.

Θεμιστοκλῆς, procurator 3084 1, 8.

Θεόδωρος, Alexandrian envoy 3020 1 ii 5.

Θέων, Aur. [3077 11?].

Θέων, court-clerk (to strategus Theon?) 3062 15.

Θέων, s. of Athenaeus 3059 8.

Θέων, s. of Ptolliion, f. of Ptolliion 3033 introd.

Θέων, strategus of Panopolite 3062 17.

Θέων *see also* Καλπούρνιος Θ., Κλαύδιος Θ., Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θ.

Θεωνᾶς, br. of Apollonius 3059 6.

Θῶνις, f. of Lastas 3061 10.

'Ιανουάριος *see* Ζήνων 'Ι.

'Ιερακαπόλλων 3067 1, 15.

'Ιέραξ, Aur., secretary 3047 [3], 43.

'Ιου[λ]ία Μαμαία, m. of imp. Severus Alexander 3073 10?

'Ιουλιανός, s. of Amm-(?), boat-owner 3079 3.

'Ιουλιανὸς Μάξιμος, Aur., senator 3054 12 (Α. *εργία* 'Ι. Μ.), 18.

'Ιούλιος Ἀμ- 3076 6.

'Ιούλιος Μαξιμιανός, epistrategus 3025 2, 7.

'Ιούλιος Μάξιμος, *xenokrites* 3016 11.

'Ιούλιος Μινερουᾶλις, *xenokrites* 3016 5.

'Ιούλιος Πόστομος, C., *praef. Aeg.* 3033 1.

'Ιούλιος Πρόκλος, *xenokrites* 3016 8.

'Ιούλιος φρατος, *xenokrites* 3016 9.

'Ιούστιος *see* Κάλοιος 'Ι.

'Ισιδωρος, s. of Demetrius, f. of M. Aur. Marcianus alias Heracles 3053 8.

'Ισιδωρος, s. of Dionysius, Alexandrian envoy 3021 1 6.

Καλλίνικος 3069 5.

Καλλίνικος, Aur., br. of Aur. Didymus alias Antonius *et al.* 3049 A 6, B 8.

Καλπουρνία 'Ηράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐδαμία, d. of Calpurnius Theon 3047 2, 43 3048 11.

Καλπούρνιος 3083 3.

Καλπούρνιος (Καρπουγγιος pap.), f. of Cornelius 3036 10.

Καλπούρνιος Θέων, f. of Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, ex-fellow of the Museum 3047 3 3048 12.

Κάνωπος 3031 4.

Κάσσιος Ἀπολλινᾶρις, *xenokrites* 3016 9.

Κάσσιος Λιβερᾶλις, *xenokrites* 3016 7.

Κλαυδιανός *see* Ἐκουτίος Κ.

Κλαύδιος [], f. of [Claudius] -inus 3051 9.

Κλαύδιος [], Ti., Alexandrian envoy 3021 i 5.

Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανός 3023 ii 7.

Κλ(αύδιος) Γέμιος, *xenokrites* 3016 7.

Κλαύδιος [Ἐρεννιανός], Ti., *iuridicus*, acting *praef. Aeg.* 3076 8, cf. 3028 10.

Κλαύδιος Θέων, Ti., ex-gymnasiarch and ex-agoranomus of Alexandria 3051 1, 4.

Κλαύ[διος] Μασκουλεῖνος, ex-*praef. Aeg.* 3077 5.

[Κλαύδιος] -εινος, steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, s. of Claudius [] 3051 1.

Κολλουῦθος 3086 1.

Κοπρέυς called Chooos, s. of Philiscus 3038 13.

Κοπρής, cook 3048 22.

Κορνήλιος, f. of Arius 3065 1.

Κορνήλιος, s. of Calpurnius 3036 9.

Κράτων, f. of Ammonius 3046 34.

Κύριλλα 3050 ii 40.

Λαστᾶς, s. of Thonis 3061 10.

Λευκάδιος, boat-owner 3079 5.

Λεωνᾶς 3057 29.

Λι- boat-owner 3079 1.

Λιβερᾶλις *see* Κάσσιος Λ.

Λίβων *see* Πετσίρις ὁ καὶ Λ.

Λισσῆνιος Πρόκλος (*iuridicus*?) 3050 ii 26, 29, 38.

Λόγγος *see* Ἀλφειος Λ.

Λούκιος, f. of Zacaon 3042 6.

Μάγνος *see* Πακτουμήμιος Μ.

Μαμαία *see* 'Ιου[λ]ία Μ.

Μαξιμιανός *see* 'Ιούλιος Μ.

Μάξιμος *see* 'Ιουλιανὸς Μ., 'Ιούλιος Μ., Οὐίβιος Μ. Μαρκιανὸς ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλῆς, M. Aur., s. of Isidorus, gd.-s. of Demetrius 3053 8, 20.

Μάρκιος Καλοντάριος (*procurator Augustorum*) 3050 i 9.

Μάρκος *see* Δε.των, Διόσκορος, Εἶος, Μαρκιανὸς ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλῆς.

Μασκουλεῖνος *see* Κλαύ[διος] Μ.

- Ματρέας(?), Aur., m. Dieus 3077 1, 12.
 Ματρίνος, f. of Eulogius 3079 8.
 Μέλας, carpenter 3066 13.
 Μέλας, secretary 3055 1.
 Μενεκράτης *see* Index VI(b) s.v. ἐποίκιον.
 Μενίκκος *see* Index VI(d).
 Μετίλιος Δίδυμος, *xenokrites* 3016 6.
 Μηνόδωρος *see* Index VI(d).
 Μήουιος Ὀνωρατίανός (*praef. Aeg.*) 3073 13?
 Μινερουάλις *see* Ἰούλιος Μ.
 Μολλιανός(?), senator (for ever?) 3054 21 (.....ιδ-
 δαθ. | μολ. ανου pap.).
 Μωρίων, systates(?) 3042 10.
 Μῶρος 3058 1.
 Μῶρος 3066 12.

 Νεῖλος 3086 2.
 Νεμεσιανός 3086 1.
 Νουνείχιον 3087 1.

 Ὀνωρατιανός *see* Μήουιος Ὀ.
 Ὅριος 3036 16?
 Οὐίβιος Μάξιμος (*praef. Aeg.*) 3024 2.
 Οὐμέ[ριος](?) Ἀπολλινᾶρις, *xenokrites* 3016 10.

 Πακτουμήιος Μάγνος, T., *praef. Aeg.* 3017 1.
 Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος, Aur., s. of Sarapammon,
 gd.-s. of Phantias, etc. 3049 A 2 (πας. ac pap.),
 B 2.
 Πανάρης *see* Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Π.
 Πανεχώτης 3064 1.
 Πανεχώτης, f. of Petsiris *alias* Libo 3051 3.
 Πασης(?) 3061 3 (πασηξουσ *gen. pap.*).
 Παταήσις, f. of Dionysius 3064 9.
 Πατάρις (*or -ρεῖς*) 3087 1.
 Παῦλος, s. of Dionysius 3037 11.
 Παῦλος, s. of Heraclius, carpet-man 3044 4 (*gen.*
 Παυλος Ἡρακλεου), 14? 3045 3 (*gen. Παυλις*
 Ἡρακληου).
 Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων, Aur., ex-gymnasiarch, ex-
 prytanis, senator 3048 13.
 Πετεῦρις 3080 1.
 Πετοκοράπης, s. of Horus, Christian(?) 3035 4.
 Πετσίρις ὁ καὶ Αἰβων, s. of Panechotes 3051 3,
 6?, 10.
 Πίος *see* Φλ(άουιος) Π.
 Πλάντας *see* Πομπείος Π.
 Πλουτίων 3080 1.
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προτιθέναι 3018 10 3025 4, 8, 12 3050 i 27 [3071
18?].
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προφέρειν 3019 12.
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πρώτον 3022 11 3067 6.
πρώτος 3022 8 3081 4.
πυγίζειν 3070 5, 8 (ποιγ- pap.).
πυνθάνεσθαι 3015 9 3063 6.
πυρός 3048 8, 15 3049 A 8, (B 11) 3058 17, (18),
(20?(del.?).)
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* ραλώδιον 3060 9.

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ρήσαμον 3066 3.

ριαγών 3054 17.

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* ρκαφόπρωρος 3031 3.

(-) ρκέπειν 3047 7?

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ρπουδή 3086 6.

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ρσοφορβός *see* Index IX.

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* ρφαιρολήκυθος 3080 8? (ρφθαιρο- pap?).

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* ταπητάς *see* Index IX.

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 pap.), 11, 14, [18?] 3026 ii [13], 15, 22, 25
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 3041 5 3042 1 3043 1 3044 10, 11 3045 1
 3048 3 3049 introd., A 19, B 26.
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 3046 6 3048 15bis 3049 A 20, B 27 [3051 10]
 3053 12 3054 9, 18 3059 4 3067 4 3069 13
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 ὑπογράφειν (3029 2).
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 ὑπομιμνήσκειν 3023 i 11?
 ὑπόμνημα [3023 i 13?] 3028 21 3053 10 3054 8
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 ὑπομνηματισμός (3016 1) 3025 8.
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 ὑποπλατυπρόσωπος 3054 15.
 ὑπόσχεσις 3028 20.
 ὑποτάσσειν [3016 12?] 3028 21 3058 16.
 ὑποτιθέναι 3060 13.

ὑποφέρειν 3057 28.
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 φαγεῖν 3060 14.
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 φιλαλληλία 3057 16.
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 3086 7.
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 φορτικός 3028 14.
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 3031 2 3049 A 7, B 10 3050 i 35 3055 2 [3056
 1] 3057 2 3058 1 3059 2 3060 1 3061 2 3062 2
 3063 2 3064 2 3065 2, 15(*med.*) 3066 1 3067 2
 3069 2 3082 2 3083 2 3084 2 3085 2 3086 1
 3087 2.
 χαρίζεσθαι 3057 21 [3067 12].
 χάρτης 3061 6.
 χεῖλος 3053 16.
 χεῖλωμα 3061 7.
 χεῖρ 3058 20?(*del.*?).
 χειρογραφ- 3076 12.
 χειρογραφία 3053 11 3054 8.
 χειρόγραφον 3049 A 18, B 24.
 χιάζειν 3057 3.
 χίλιοι 3036 11 3037 12, 30 3038 16 3039 9
 3040 7 3041 8 3042 8.
 χιτώνιον 3060 5, 9.
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 χοιρίδιον 3085 5.
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χρήναι 3050 ii 30.
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ψυχή 3057 26.
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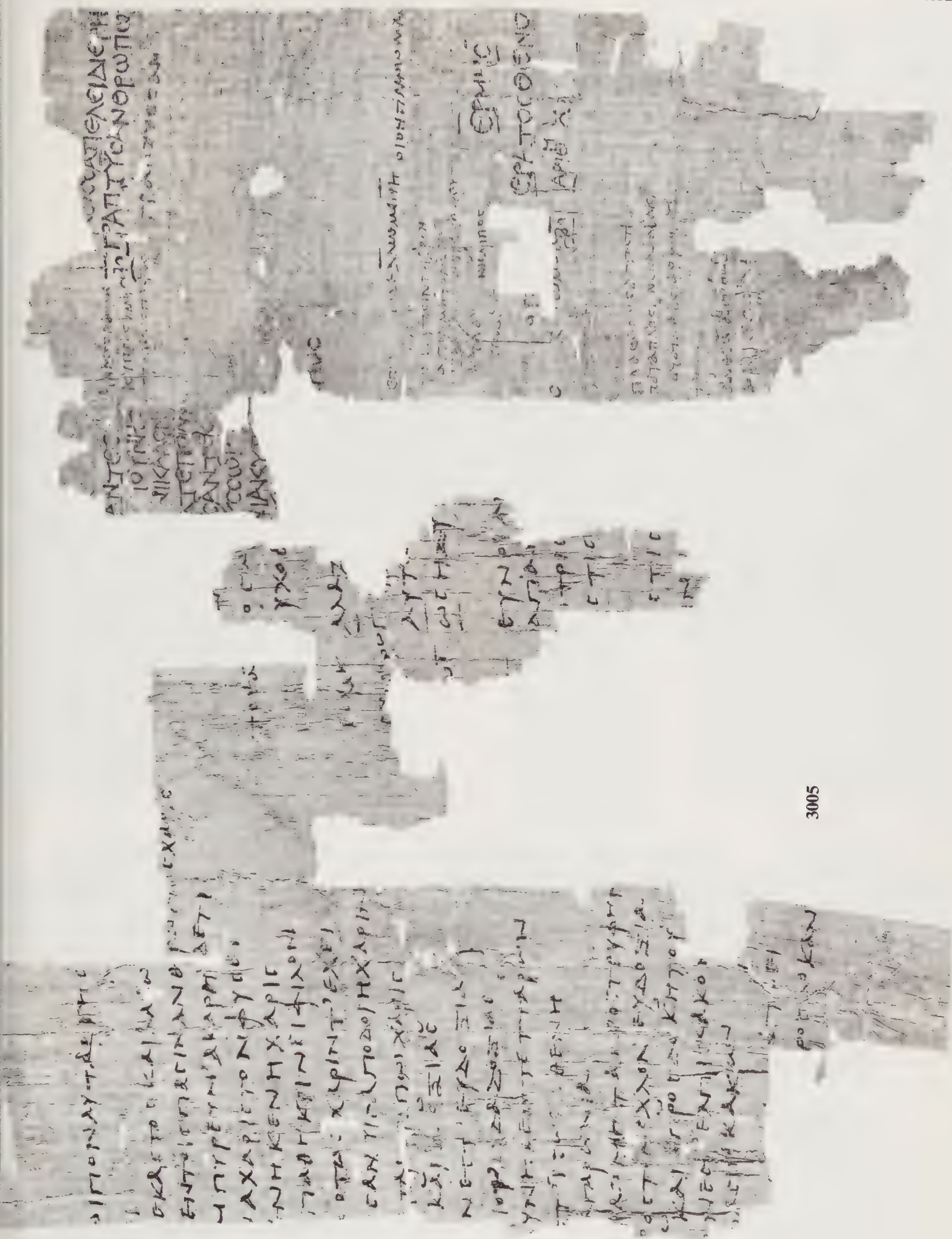
ῥιμος 3074 13.
ῥνείσθαι (3047 13*bis*, 21, 25, 30, 35, 38) 3054 18.
ῥνή 3053 6 3054 4, 18, 23.
ῥόν 3055 5, 6 3056 3.
ῥρα 3069 16.
ῶς 3015 20, 25 3023 ii 11 3025 4, 13 3028 5, 7,
 10, 11, 23 3043 4 3048 12, 14 3053 9, 16, 21
 3054 7, 15 3057 5 3062 5 3063 4, 14 3068 4
 3069 15, 17 3072 2 3074 11.
ῶστε 3055 4 3064 10.

XIII. LATIN (3016)

adve[14.
agere 13.
de 13.
et 14?
is 14?
libertina 15.

mulier 13.
non 17.
quis 13.
(-)serv- 18.
videre 17, 21?

[illegible]



3005

3000



3006 (slightly reduced)



[illegible]

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Fragment of a papyrus scroll showing several lines of Greek text in a cursive hand. The text is written on a single column and appears to be a continuous passage. The ink is dark, and the papyrus texture is visible. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll showing several lines of Greek text in a cursive hand. The text is written on a single column and appears to be a continuous passage. The ink is dark, and the papyrus texture is visible. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges.

3051

(reduced)

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is a cursive form of ancient Greek. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the center and right side. The visible text includes words such as "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν".

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is a cursive form of ancient Greek. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the center and right side. The visible text includes words such as "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν".

3076

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is a cursive form of ancient Greek. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the center and right side. The visible text includes words such as "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν", "καὶ", "ἐν", "τοῖς", "ἐκ", "αὐτῶν".

3034

Handwritten text in two columns, likely a manuscript page. The script is cursive and appears to be from a historical document. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored background. The left column contains approximately 15 lines of text, and the right column contains approximately 15 lines of text. The handwriting is somewhat faded and difficult to decipher, but it appears to be a form of early modern script. There are some large, stylized initials or flourishes at the beginning of certain lines. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript page, possibly from a 16th or 17th-century text.

[illegible]

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